Issues Facing CIO Rubber Union

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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BIG BUSINESS PUSHES HUNGER PROGRAM

Stalinist Press Intensifies New Slander Drive

Smear Campaign Against Trotskyists Aimed To Curb Militant Struggle Against Reaction

By Joseph Keller

As avowed defenders of Wall Street's "free enterprise" system, front-rank scabs and strikebreakers within the labor movement, the Stalinists are demonstrating increasing rage at the growing militancy of the organized workers. They are particularly perturbed by the influence of the Trotskyists, the conscious vanguard of militant labor, and the mounting trade union support for the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO leaders railroaded to prison under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act.

Thus, Earl Browder's "theoretical" organ, *The Communist*, August issue, contains a 10-pg. "directive" to his henchmen in the union movement exhorting them to step up their slander and terror campaign against Trotskyism in particular and militant labor in general. Typically entitled: "The Trotskyite Fifth Column in the Labor Movement," the article is a receptacle for all the filth recently thrown at the Trotskyists in the Daily Worker, People's World, New World, Joseph Curran's The Pilot and Harry Bridges' Dispatcher. The author is one George Morris, a press gangster of shady antecedents whose specialty is Trotskyist red-baiting.

STALINIST LIES

Morris' smear technique consists in repeating the Stalinist lies and frameup charges that the Trotskyists are "spies, saboteurs and would-be Quislings for Nazi Germany and Japan's imperialism." One proof of this, according to Morris, is that the Trotskyists on trial in Minneapolis advocated "the continuation of the class struggle during the war" and "brazenly distribute" the court transcript "in pamphlets as their program."

The Trotskyist program, he complains, "is to utilize every opportunity, even the smallest grievance, to violate the no-strike pledge; oppose the President at every turn; favor the creation of political split-offs in labor ranks under the guise of favoring a 'labor party'." In his distorted manner Morris thus reveals the hatred of the Stalinist strikebreakers toward the Trotskyists because we advance a program of independent economic and political action to defend labor's interests.

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Trotsky Memorial Meetings Held By Branches Of SWP

NEW YORK, Aug. 20 — A capacity crowd filled the main ballroom of the Cornish Arms Hotel on Sunday night to attend the Trotsky Memorial Meeting conducted by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party. Workers who listened attentively to the two speakers of the evening, Comrades Art Preis and George Collins, contributed $125 to further the work of the Trotskyist movement in this city.

Comrade Preis spoke of the life of Leon Trotsky, his significant achievements as the co-founder with Lenin of the Soviet Union, organizer of the Red Army, and founder of the Fourth International after the Third International had demonstrated its corruption as a tool of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy. He emphasized the distinctive character of a Bolshevik party, whose members devote their entire lives to the workers' struggle for power.

"The soil which nurtured the genius of Trotsky to rich fruition," said Comrade Preis, "was

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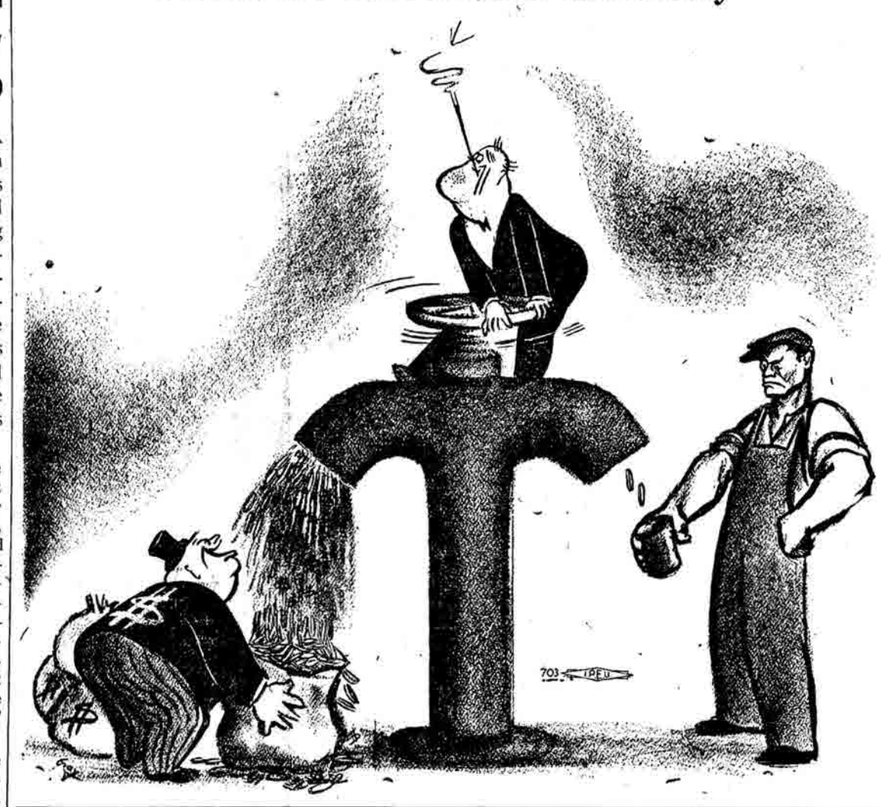
MESSAGE SENT TO NATALIA TROTSKY

The following telegram was sent to Natalia Trotsky by the New York Trotsky Memorial Meeting held at the Cornish Arms Hotel on August 20:

"On the fourth anniversary of the tragic death of our great teacher and leader, we, members and friends of the Trotskyist movement, assembled to honor his memory in New York City, send you our deep-felt sympathy and pledge anew our devotion to the cause of revolutionary internationalism, to which he dedicated his entire life.

"As the old order in Europe crumbles and the signs of proletarian revolution multiply in Italy, in Germany and all over the war-tortured continent, the deathless ideas of Trotsky are confirmed more powerfully than ever. In the days ahead these ideas will become the inspiration of millions, their banner of emancipation. Together with you, we will continue the Old Man's struggle for the establishment of world socialism."

Roosevelt's Reconversion Machinery



Roosevelt Seizes Plants As A Blow To San Francisco Union

BULLETIN

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 22 (By Wire) — Following Roosevelt's seizure of 99 more machine shops here, the War Labor Board today struck a further anti-labor blow at AFL Machinists Lodge 68 by withdrawing all traditional contract rights and privileges because of the union's refusal to permit its members to work more than 48 hours a week without a contract. Preferential hiring through the union hall, determination of vacation schedules by the union, union consent in the grievance settlement, have been withdrawn. A special meeting of Lodge 68 two days ago voted overwhelmingly against lifting ban on overtime work and to continue the fight for contracts and job control.

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif., Aug. 18. — In a final attempt to bolster the hand of the bosses against Machinist Lodge 68, AFL, President Roosevelt ordered the "seizure" of five San Francisco machine shops August 14 and began to threaten union members with various wartime penalties. This action brought to a climax the five months fight of the California Metal Trades Association, the employers organization, to smash one of the most militant unions in this area by refusing to negotiate new contracts. Seizure came after the near collapse of the entire apparatus of intimidation lined up against the union by the employer organization, the Regional and National WLB, high army and navy officials, the local press and the Stalinists.

After the employers of 104 uptown shops refused to renew their contracts which expired April 1, Lodge 68 decided by an overwhelming majority, with the exception of less than 10 Stalinist-inspired opposition votes, to maintain a working limit of 8 hours a day, 6 days a week, as provided in its former contract. The employers immediately set up a howl that the machinists were "impeding the war effort," and called on the W.L.B. to crack down on the union, particularly on its two business agents, Edward Dillon and Harry Hook. The Tenth Regional W.L.B. and the army and navy officials took up the cry. WLB chairman William H. Davis termed the action a "partial strike" and ordered the union to rescind the overtime ban.

The union stood pat against every attempt at intimidation. Dillon laid the responsibility for the dispute upon the employers where it rightly belonged. "As far as we are concerned the whole trouble centers around half a dozen national organizations

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Starvation Relief Measures Planned For The Unemployed

Congress Presses Bills To Aid Wall Street Wage-Slashing Drive And Enrich Profiteers

By Art Preis

The "post-war plan" of Big Business, as revealed by its Congressional and administrative agents, embodies nothing less than an all-out union-smashing, wage-slashing offensive, spearheaded by a calculated program of mass unemployment and starvation "relief." That is the real meaning of the George "Starvation" Bill adopted overwhelmingly by the Senate and now before the House, where its major provisions are expected to be passed without significant modifications.

The Wall Street press makes no bones about proclaiming the sinister intent of its "industrial demobilization" scheme. The money-bags plan to utilize mass insecurity and hunger as a battering ram against the unions in order to destroy them and their wage standards. Business Week, authoritative voice of the corporate interests cynically admits in its August 12 issue that the Kilgore-Murray bill was trodden underfoot by the Senate because its more liberal provision for unemployment compensation "could influence the idle worker very strongly when offered a job paying 50 cents an hour for a 40-hour week—and thereby prove a potent factor in sustaining high wages."

Even in advance of debate, the so-called "liberal" minority in the House is in miserable retreat before the sponsors of the George Bill, who comprise the great majority of Democrats and Republicans. These "liberals," who support the Celler Bill, House version of the Senate Kilgore-Murray Bill, are now reported to be cooking up what the press itself terms a "milk-toast" version of the original measure. Representative Celler, author of the House "liberal" bill, has already let it be known that he is prepared to "compromise" still further by supporting the George Bill with a "few amendments."

The shadow-boxing of these Rooseveltian "liberals," both in the Senate and House, is deliberately intended to divert attention from the maneuvers of Roosevelt. "Assistant President" Byrnes is busily engaged in pushing through the Administration's real program to knife the Kilgore Bill and secure a slightly revised version of the George Bill. It was Byrnes, as Roosevelt's chief lieutenant, who conferred secretly with Senator George prior to the debate on the latter's bill in the Senate and mapped out the strategy for its passage.

ROOSEVELT'S SPOKESMEN

Byrnes appeared last week before the House Ways and Means Committee, which reported him as "favorably disposed" to the George "states rights" bill. He merely advocated that the states increase their maximum unemployment benefits to $20 a week and extend payment for 26 weeks. Under the present version of the George Bill, unemployment compensation would range as low as

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Wall Street's Reconversion Plan -- Or Labor's?

By The Editors

Millions of workers are alarmed by the grim spectre of mass unemployment which is drawing closer day by day, week by week. Government spokesmen have predicted that with the defeat of Germany war production will be curtailed by as much as 50 or 60 percent. The alarm of the workers is therefore amply justified. Already hundreds have been thrown out of their jobs by production cutbacks and war contract terminations.

The Roosevelt administration and Congress are showing that their deepest concern is not with the prospective plight of the nation's real wealth producers who are destined soon to be thrown on the industrial scrap-heap, but with the fortunes of the capitalist barons who have already coined three times their peacetime profits from the war. The corporations are guaranteed some $40 billions in tax rebates after the war and Congress is speeding measures to turn over to these profiteers an additional $75-$100 billions of so-called "surplus" government property and stores.

Meanwhile the administration killed the Senate Kilgore bill which provided inadequate Federal benefits of between $12 and $25 a week for workers thrown out of jobs. In its stead, the notorious George Bill was passed by the Senate. If this measure passes, unemployed workers will be thrown onto state unemployment relief, and in some states would receive "relief" as low as two dollars per week. Moreover, some 30 million workers, not covered at all by state unemployment relief legislation, would not receive even this pauper dole.

Both the CIO and AFL leadership backed the Kilgore Bill as against the George Bill. But Roosevelt's Senate henchmen rode roughshod over their verbal opposition. Now the union bureaucrats, who go cap in hand to the capitalist politicians and beg for hand-outs, are pinning their hopes to the Celler Bill, an emasculated House version of the modified Kilgore proposals.

All three legislative measures serve to demonstrate once again the utter bankruptcy of the capitalist system. All three are based on the assumption that a huge army of unemployed is inevitable as soon as production for destruction slackens. Capitalism conscripts the workers for slaughter in its robber wars and assigns them to breadlines in time of peace.

What is to be done? It is futile for labor to wrangle over the respective merits of the various legislative proposals of the capitalist government in Washington. With slight variations they all have the same essential purpose in view: to enrich further the exploiters of labor and place the workers on hunger rations. To defeat these nefarious plans labor must have a program of its own and must prepare to fight for its realization.

To meet the menace of mass unemployment, the workers must advance the demand for a universal 30-hour week in industry in order to provide jobs for those displaced by the termination of war contracts. The 30-hour week must be instituted without any cut in weekly earnings in order to maintain the workers' living standards.

To provide additional jobs, there must be extensive programs of public works by federal, state and city authorities, with workers on all jobs receiving trade union wages with total earnings sufficient to maintain their families in decency and health.

Against the plan to turn over to private capitalist ownership the billions of dollars worth of plants built with public funds, the workers must demand nationalization of all industry, with workers' control of production.

Such a program can never be realized by humble supplication to the administration and Congress, which are merely executive agencies of the plutocrats. Labor must fight for this program on a nation-wide basis. It is a **political** fight, a fight in which the entire working-class must be mobilized against the capitalist class and its political stooges. The working-class can be mobilized for political action in its own interests only through the medium of its own party—an independent Labor Party. The building of such a party is an imperative task for the American workers today.

Pravda Discloses Discontent Among Red Army Veterans

By John G. Wright

The hermetic censorship imposed by the Kremlin has thus far successfully concealed from the outside world the war-time processes that have been taking place inside the Soviet Union. The actual impact of the war upon the Soviet masses, the changes in their moods, the shift in the relation of class forces, the attitude of the mass of the workers, peasants and soldiers to the rule of the bureaucracy, their reactions to its conduct of the war, etc., etc.—all these remain among the most jealously guarded secrets of Stalin's regime.

But at the beginning of this year the Moscow press — which arrives irregularly and after long delays in this country — began to reflect certain aspects of the molecular process occurring in wartime among the Soviet masses. On the basis of this information we can say with certainty that the bureaucracy remains in mortal fear of the mass of the Soviet population, and in particular the workers.

Specifically this is reflected in the growing alarm of the bureaucratic summits over the increasing restiveness among the demobilized Red Army veterans, those wounded soldiers who on returning to civilian life must be absorbed and reintegrated in industry, where they run up against the monstrous bureaucratic machine and its practices which have been preserved intact and even reinforced in the course of the war.

(Continued on page 4)

Call Boston Conference To Aid Defense Of 18

Moving to rally the widest possible labor support behind the campaign to free the 18 Socialist Workers Party and Truckdrivers' Local 544 (CIO) leaders railroaded to prison under the Smith "Gag" Act, the Boston Branch of the Civil Rights Defense Committee has convened a conference for Sunday, September 17, at 2 p.m. and has invited all labor organizations throughout the New England states to send representatives.

The conference will be held in the Workmen's Circle Center, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester, and will work out plans to aid the campaign for the liberation of the 18. George Novack, national secretary of the CRDC, will travel from New York to address the gathering.

The Workmen's Circle in Boston has given its endorsement to the conference and is urging all trade union locals to elect delegates.

Unions which have during the past week added their names to the constantly swelling list of organizations pressing for the freeing of the 18 class-war prisoners include: United Automobile Workers of America, Local 337, Cleveland, Ohio; Textile Workers Union Local 58, Rockville, Conn.; Lockport Industrial Union Council, Lockport, N. Y.; ILGWU Local 160, Bayonne, N. J.;

Additional support came from the Buffalo Chapter of the Mazzini Society which issued a statement through its secretary, Hugo Vanelli, declaring: "The imprisonment of the 18 and the upholding of the Smith 'Gag' Act sets a dangerous precedent which can be used against the democratic rights of other trade unionists and working class political parties."

A friend in Chesterfield, Mo. sent in the following letter to James T. Farrell, chairman of the CRDC: "Here is a double contribution of $15 from me and my mother . . . for the cause of the Minneapolis Prisoners Pardon & Relief Fund project for which you and your committee are waging such a splendid and valuable fight. Your brochure on the subject is one of the finest anti-fascist documents of warning based on incontrovertible facts that I have ever read. More and more power to you!"

Union Members Fight Purge By Stalinists

CHICAGO, Aug. 14—An angry rank and file revolt has met the attempt of the International Executive Board of the CIO United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers to railroad six members of an anti-Stalinist caucus out of Local 101. Last February the accused were charged with red-baiting and holding secret meetings.

A trial committee elected by the membership declared the accused members not guilty, and the decision was upheld by the membership. Members of the Stalinist-dominated Executive Board of Local 101 appealed the decision to the International. Two months before the convention, the International Executive Board, over the heads of the local membership, handed down a decision expelling the six.

EVENTS AT MEETING

Over five hundred members of the Local turned out on August 6 to hear the report of the International Executive Committee on the expulsions. A member, on a point of procedure, asked that the expelled members be allowed to sit in on the meeting with full voice and vote. The chairman declared him out of order, and general disorder was aroused.

The Stalinists called the police; but the police sergeant spoiled their game by stating that the sensible thing to do was to take a vote. One of the long-time members of the union, Arch Hummel, took the initiative, and the majority voted that the six should attend the meeting. At this point the president of the Local adjourned the meeting, and the Stalinists and their following left.

Almost three hundred members refused to leave the hall, declared the meeting still in session, voted the members back into the union, and sent a letter to the International Executive Board rejecting the expulsions. The charges of the International Executive Board reflect the fear of the Stalinists that their control of the International is coming to an end. Caucus meetings of the anti-Stalinists were called "secret meetings" which had as their purpose "entering into a conspiracy against the best interests of Local 101." The Report of the International states that "the above mentioned persons agreed on a plan of action at one or all meetings with a view of usurping . . . the legitimate functions or rights of the local union and its officers." By refusing elementary democratic rights to the rank and file, the Stalinists believe they can maintain their control of the local and international union.

REQUEST FIRING

The whole frameup trial was carried out under the cover of driving out enemies of the war effort. "Any act or deed on the part of any individual or group of individuals which would create or tend to create disunity in the union is to be decried as aid to the enemies of democracy . . . and thus interferes with the war effort." Under the cover of the war, the Stalinists are attempting to rid themselves of all opposition.

On August 10 the Local Executive Board wrote a letter to the management of Tractor Works asking that the six be fired from the plant. The same afternoon, in their confusion over the rank and file protest, they withdrew their request. The following day the Chicago Sun reported that the Executive Board of Local 101 had renewed its request that the six anti-Stalinist leaders be fired.

TRADE UNION NOTES

By Joseph Keller

Moving in prompt response to a WLB appeal, Roosevelt has ordered the seizure of 104 San Francisco machine shops to force AFL machinists to work overtime. The workers have insisted on working under the terms of the old contract fixing a 40-hour week and 8-hour day, which the bosses have refused to renew. Roosevelt's action is therefore a direct blow at established union standards. His order is being backed up with a threat of triple penalties, including black-listing, a sentence of starvation for the workers and their families. That's how Roosevelt acts toward workers defending their rights.

But Sewell L. Avery, the nation's No. 1 Open Shopper, is still sitting back and complacently spitting in the eye of the WLB and Administration, although four months have gone by since Roosevelt smashed the Montgomery Ward strike under the pretext of forcing Avery to comply with a WLB directive of 18 months' standing. Roosevelt is very passive toward labor-hating employers who flout WLB orders.

* * *

A lot of other employers have been following Avery's practices and getting away with them. There is the case of the Hughes Tool Company, Houston, Tex., owned by the millionaire playboy and one-time movie producer, Howard Hughes.

This case was certified to the regional WLB 15 months ago. A decision of the regional Board was appealed by the union and company to the national WLB, which modified the original decision—in favor of the company. The company refused to accept the modified order, while the union acquiesced.

First the WLB withheld its compliance order pending a decision of the NLRB, which was considering a charge of unfair labor practices against the company. By the time the NLRB decided the company was guilty, the union contract had expired. The WLB ordered renewal of the old contract pending negotiation of a new one. Again the company balked.

Another WLB hearing was held in June. But the company refused to budge from its position. Several weeks ago the case was turned over not to Roosevelt but to Economic Stabilization Director Vinson. This was obviously a move to relieve Roosevelt of any "embarrassment." Vinson, who has the power to impose economic sanctions on recalcitrant employers, has already spent several weeks speculating on the advisability of taking action because it might "interfere with war production."

* * *

Last week *The Militant* reported on the anti-trust criminal prosecution of 28 Pennsylvania anthracite coal companies. The federal judge suspended jail sentences against the guilty coal barons and imposed only the minimum chicken-feed fines on the companies. He ended up with a sob-story whitewashing the companies because they were "animated by worthy motives."

In Lexington, Ky., however, another federal court last week sentenced James Thacker, former president of a United Mine Workers local, to two concurrent one year terms in prison on the charge that he "incited" a strike at a government-operated mine in Bell County last year, in violation of the Smith-Connally "Anti-Strike" law.

The capitalist courts show their class nature in these two cases. Miners who "incite" a strike to defend their meager living standards are tossed behind prison bars. Their exploiters, who illegally mulct the consumers of millions through monopoly practices, are set free with the apologies of the judge.

* * *

One of the most important collective bargaining elections of recent years will be held on August 30, when the 16,000 workers in the Cleveland plants of Thompson Products, Inc., are to vote under NLRB auspices whether they want to be represented by the CIO United Automobile Workers.

The company, which is headed by Frederick C. Crawford, former president of the National Association of Manufacturers, has fought genuine unionism viciously for seven years. It has employed terrorism, intimidation and labor spies on a grand scale to deny its workers collective bargaining rights.

Two years ago, the company succeeded in defeating the UAW-CIO in an election, by means of an all-out anti-labor propaganda campaign. The NLRB conducted a two-months hearing, concluded in May 1943, in which the UAW offered thousands of pages of testimony proving the election was unfairly conducted and company-influenced.

The NLRB finally ruled that the company must disband its two company unions and that another election must be held. In its last two conventions, the UAW voted special campaigns to organize Thompson Products, because this company is one of the few remaining fortresses of the open shop in the automobile and aircraft industries.

* * *

The CIO Executive Board on August 16 adopted a resolution denouncing the George reconversion bill, recently passed by an overwhelming vote of the Senate, as an "unprincipled fake." The resolution called for defeat of the George Bill in the House and passage of the Celler Bill, House counterpart of the Kilgore-Murray measure defeated in the Senate.

Every word the resolution says against the George Bill is true. But the resolution constitutes a complete cover-up for the Democratic Party and Roosevelt. A majority of Senate Democrats voted for the George Bill. Roosevelts "Dear Alben" Barkley, Democratic majority floor leader, rammed through the vote on the bill. "Assistant President" Byrnes did a behind-the-scenes job of lining up the Senators for it. The CIO resolution is silent on these facts.

* * *

Organized labor scored an important victory against the open shop this week. Botany Worsted Mills of Patterson, N. J., one of the largest textile firms in the world, finally yielded in its bitter fight conducted for more than two decades against unionism. On August 21, the company signed its first collective bargaining contract, with the CIO Textile Workers.

The contract was negotiated after the union won an overwhelming victory several months ago in an NLRB election. Although the company tried every legal and propaganda trick to void the election, it was on losing ground. A recent sit-down strike taught the company that the workers meant business and the company was forced to sign the contract.

This contract will run to February 1946 and covers 4,500 workers. It includes social security protection paid for by the company, vacations with pay, double time for Sundays, and medical surgical and maternity benefits. It paves the way for similar contracts throughout all the plants of the company.

Ask Your Shopmate to Subscribe to *The Militant*

Special Offer Made To Enable All Our New Subscribers To Introduce 'The Militant' To Their Friends And Shopmates

The enthusiastic response of workers all over the country to the recent subscription campaign conducted by *The Militant* has inspired a new method to increase the number of our readers.

To each of the 7,614 persons who received a 3-month trial subscription at the introductory rate of 25c. **The Militant's** Business Manager will soon mail a new offer. This offer is a special plan enabling our recent subscribers to pay for their own six-month renewal subscription, simply by introducing our paper to four friends or shopmates! From the many friendly letters we have already received from our new readers, we know that they will be eager to help us extend our paper to ever-wider circles of the American working class.

This special offer will be handled in the following way. Four postage-paid subscription cards, valued at $1.00, will be mailed to each of our present "trial subscribers." Each of these cards represents a 25c. three-month trial subscription to The Militant. **These cards are being given with a six-month renewal of a trial subscription, all for only $1.00.**

The letter which brings this offer to our new readers also invites them to send in their suggestions and criticism to help us make the paper constantly more interesting and useful to American workers.

The Militant is always glad to hear the comments of its readers, to clarify any doubts they may have, and to discuss with them the program of international socialism for which **The Militant** stands.

In preparation for the call-back campaign scheduled for September 1, some of the branches are doing the spade work that will give them the experience necessary to efficiently launch the campaign locally. The branches that are doing this experimental work report very encouraging results. We quote from San Pedro's report:

"Enclosed you will find 5 new 25c. subs and 3 renewals of 25c. subs obtained during the drive. Last night two comrades were out visiting. This is our first attempt at renewals and it was very gratifying.

"This work is being done in a Yugoslav neighborhood where 98 percent are fishermen and have language difficulty. Those who asked us to return are fishermen who are leaving on a fishing trip, but wish to renew subs when they return. On the whole we were very well received."

* * *

Utilizing every opportunity to get subscriptions to **The Militant**, one of our Los Angeles agents has been sending a copy of the paper, together with a letter and subscription blank, to authors of selected letters printed in **The Progressive**, La Follette's liberal paper. This method has proved successful with the number of subs received to date. Our agent writes concerning the latest of the subs:

"The enclosed check for $1 is for a six-month sub to The Militant. I feel very happy about receiving an order for a regular sub in answer to a letter in which I had called attention to the special 25c. trial sub. Accompanying the check was a very friendly four-page letter explaining the new subscriber's views. I am replying to the letter as it apparently comes from a very sincere person who finds that 'The Militant coincides with my philosophy in many respects.' I feel that it would be worthwhile to follow up the sub with a visit, or at least with announcements, etc."

* * *

All of the branches report interesting incidents concerning their new subscriptions. This is one sent in by our Southside agent (Los Angeles Local):

"One evening while some of us Southsiders were out canvassing, I attempted to sell a sub to a worker who claimed the union paper was all he needed or had time to read, but offered to give me 25c. for my work. I explained that I wanted a sub and not just a quarter, and asked him to give me the name of some friend since he did not want the paper himself.

"He did, and that friend, whom we had never before contacted, came to the public meeting we held on the Southside on the subject of The Coming Elections and the Workers — and what is more brought one of his friends with him. Both of them bought **Socialism on Trial**, asked to be notified of all meetings and the friend's friend (if this isn't too complicated!) bought two copies of **The Militant**, one for himself and the other for a friend of his!"

* * *

Again we would like to comment about the efficient manner in which our San Francisco agent follows up those subscribers with incorrect addresses or those who have moved and have overlooked informing us. Promptness is important in this work so that the subscriber will not miss getting his copies of **The Militant.**

Our agent writes the following: "Thanks for the kind words about our efficiency in getting changes of address, etc. You know how it is — it looks like some of us are just meant for this kind of work. Remember the old lines about 'each according to his ability?' We'll try to keep up the good work on this line. I must say that very few people appreciate the tremendous amount of work this job of literature calls for."

Notice To Subscribers

According to postal regulations, your address is not complete unless it shows the postal zone number. For example: **The Militant's** zone number is New York 3, N. Y. The postal authorities are now insisting that this regulation be carried out in the mailing of **The Militant.** Check the wrapper in which **The Militant** is mailed to you and if the zone number is not included, be sure to send it to us at once, to assure delivery of your paper.

Send the zone number to:

Business Manager
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

Stalinist Slander Campaign Designed To Curb Militants

(Continued from page 1)

Morris concedes reluctantly that "some companies are giving them (the Trotskyists) all the encouragement they need by procrastinating negotiations, or by suddenly scrapping union conditions. The apparently agreed-upon plan of the most reactionary employers to defy the War Labor Board decisions for membership maintenance is a god-send to the Trotskyites." Morris would have it appear that the open-shoppers

and their government are conducting an anti-labor offensive just to provide ammunition for the Trotskyists! In reality, he is confessing that the American ruling class is deliberately aiming to smash the labor movement and that the Trotskyists are striving to rally the working class to resist the union-busting drive.

Morris sees Trotskyist "instigation" behind most of the recent struggles of the workers, the Montgomery Ward strike, the Chrysler strike, the Briggs strike, etc. That is, wherever the workers are beginning to show greater militancy in their defense against the onslaught of the corporations, there Morris finds the inspiration of Trotskyism.

SLANDER CAMPAIGNS

Morris betrays one motive behind the current intensification of the Stalinist slander campaign in his statement that "most workers" don't know the "Trotskyites' record of treachery." For over fifteen years the Stalinists have carried on a world-wide slander and terror campaign against the Trotskyists. They have tried to behead and to destroy the revolutionary vanguard of the labor movement and to deceive and disorient the advanced workers by means of the most monstrous lies and frameups.

But actions speak louder than falsehoods. The Stalinist record of betrayal contrasted with the irreconcilable fight of the Trotskyists for socialist principles have led more and more workers to recognize the Trotskyists as the authentic Marxists, the real communists of our time. They regard the Moscow Trials and all the other Stalinist attempts to link the Trotskyists with the fascist enemies of labor as patent frameups.

The most infuriating goad to the Stalinists is the fact that over 2,000,000 organized workers have recorded their protest against the Roosevelt government's frameup of the 18 imprisoned Trotskyists in the Minneapolis Labor Case. Morris rants against the AFL Intern'l Ladies Garment Workers Union, the CIO Textile Workers, the CIO United Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Employes, and the hundreds of other labor, Negro and fraternal organizations which "are defending the imprisoned Trotskyites." He protests because a powerful section of the American labor movement correctly treats the Minneapolis Labor Case as a gross violation of civil liberties and a blow at workers' rights.

Morris quotes none other than AFL Teamsters czar, Daniel J. Tobin, whose personal appeal to Roosevelt launched the frameup against the leadership of Minneapolis Truck-drivers Local 544-CIO and whose paid agents were the chief perjurers for the prosecution, as "proof" that the Trotskyists are "on a par with enemy spies and saboteurs and should be treated as such." Tobin, Morris gloatingly observes, now "realizes the difference" between the Stalinists and the Trotskyists. What Tobin really recognizes is that the Stalinists support his own program of playing ball with the bosses and attacking the labor militants. He is now making common cause with Earl Browder's gang in trying to fortify the frameup against the Trotskyists.

Morris concludes with the warning: "As we near the election and post-war period, the Trotskyites could be particularly dangerous." Dangerous to whom? Dangerous to Big Business which plans to impose mass unemployment and starvation "relief" and to press a gigantic union-busting, wage-slashing offensive in the coming period. Dangerous to the Republican and Democratic political agents of Wall Street. Dangerous to the union bureaucrats who support the capitalist parties and fear to fight the attacks of the employers. Dangerous to the Stalinists who are the very spearhead of reaction within the labor movement today.

These are the "dangers" that the Stalinists foresee and cry out against. They fear most of all, as Morris' hysterical charges disclose, that the Trotskyists will become the rallying force for the inevitable struggle of the American workers against capitalist unemployment, union-wrecking and repression, and will thereby constitute the chief obstacle to the Kremlin's schemes to sell American labor down the river to Wall Street.

BRASS HATS THROTTLE ENGLISH TROOPS FORUM

The "Troops Parliament" set up by British soldiers in Cairo, which we wrote about in the July 29 issue of *The Militant*, has been persecuted into silence by Churchill's brass hats, according to the June 30 issue of the London *Tribune*.

The mock parliament had grown out of an informal discussion group. It received widespread attention when it elected to "power" a Labor Government, with a legislative program concerning India, Housing, Land and Agriculture, Nationalization of Power, Fuel and Transport, and other extremely important social problems.

OFFICERS INTERVENE

Shortly before the April meeting of the Parliament, instructions were issued from the British War Office that "no further mention of the parliament was to be made" in the Cairo press. Nevertheless, a capacity crowd of between 400 and 500 servicemen attended, many of them making long trips in from the desert to participate. Before the Speaker of the Parliament was able to take the chair, an army officer strode to the platform, and read a notice from the military authorities demanding that the group drop the name of parliament, and bar all civilians from the audience.

By unanimous vote, the parliament vigorously rejected the interference of the army officer, and proceeded with its business of the day, nationalization of the banks.

Such an affront to the reactionary army chiefs and the Tory-Labor Coalition Parliament at home could not long be endured by the officials, who were already smarting under the blow of the existence of a "Labor Government" in the army. According to the recent *Tribune* article, "behind the scenes much hemming and hawing was going on. The War Office in London was asking questions. Departments in Cairo passed memos and minutes on the subject... Who was running this parliament, anyway? One lady was heard to remark that they were all Trotskyists!"

Before another meeting of the parliament could be convened, a document was devised which established so many crippling restrictions that the group decided to disband.

The orders issued were, briefly, as follows: First, all meetings must be held in army barracks (they had previously been held in a comfortable service club). Second, all sessions must be under the supervision of an officer. Third, speeches must be prepared beforehand and questions submitted in writing. Every condition devised by the brass hats was intended as intimidation of the men by subjecting their discussions to military censorship and reprisal.

SUPPRESS NEWS

A storm of protest over this arbitrary infringement of the rights of the troops caused a momentary flurry among Labor Members of Parliament in London. But the General Headquarters of the British Army, in no mood to trifle with the "high treason" of a labor-minded army, ordered interception of all cables and letters addressed to Members of Parliament in England. It banned all news of the treatment accorded the troops' parliament.

Once more British officialdom has shown its determination to throttle every progressive voice of the working class whether in the army or in industry. This is no sign of strength, but of weakness and abject fear. Churchill and his officers know that when the leftward-moving workers of England find their ally in the British troops, the rule of British capitalism will be close to destruction.

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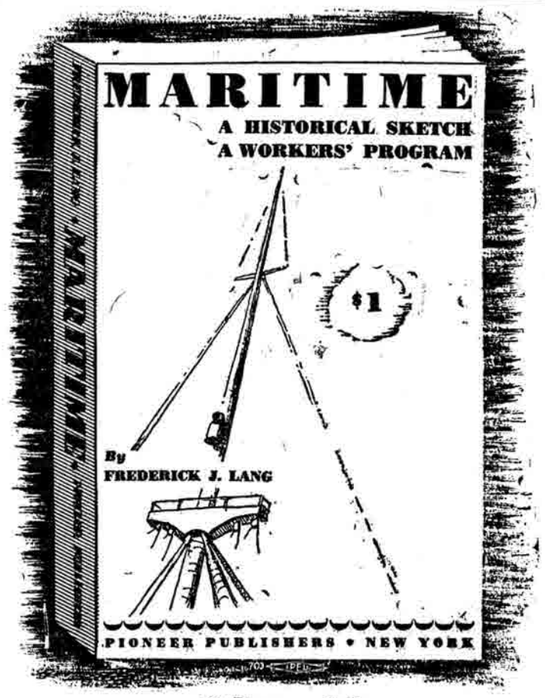

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The Crisis In The CIO Rubber Workers Union

By Joseph Andrews

AKRON, Aug. 9.—A rebellion of significant proportions is gathering force in the United Rubber Workers of America-CIO. Its aim is the overthrow of the leadership and the strikebreaking policies of Sherman H. Dalrymple, International President, and his International Board supporters, at the forthcoming annual convention to meet in New York City on September 18.

The issues are sharp and clear cut. The major point of controversy will undoubtedly be the question of union democracy. This issue has penetrated into every local. As at the first convention of the rubber union in 1935, the 9th annual convention will be dominated by a fight against dictatorship in the union. Since this question has aroused great rank and file revolts also in the Automobile Workers and other unions, it is obviously one of the crucial issues of the labor movement.

Fight for Democracy

The "Firestone Flash" published by Firestone Local 7, URWA, states in its August 3 issue: "This is the most important and outstanding convention in the history of the URWA. We are fighting for our rights as a labor organization. Do you believe that eleven men (General Executive Board) should be the judge, prosecuting attorney, the witnesses and the jury in a matter vital to your existence?"

Local after local has taken its stand against the encroachments upon inner union democracy by Dalrymple and his followers on the International Board. But militant unionists realize that there are other interconnected issues. There will be a revolt against the no-strike pledge, against labor participation in the strikebreaking War Labor Board, and against the "Little Steel" wage-freezing formula.

But the spark for this revolt has been provided by Dalrymple's attempts to assume dictatorial rights in enforcing the no-strike pledge. This action has aroused great opposition to the leadership now in the URWA saddle. The fight to retain the inner democracy of the union will rock the convention hall.

Like the United Automobile Workers CIO, the rubber union from its birth as an industrial union in 1935 has striven to defend the inner democracy which charges it with dynamic power. The struggle against the old AFL craft union system was essentially an attempt to substitute for the undemocratic and atomized craft unionism of the past, the more democratic and representative industrial form of organization. The historic first convention of the United Rubber Workers not only amalgamated the AFL federal locals into an international union which cut across craft lines, but the militant delegates battled successfully against attempts by William Green to appoint Coleman Claherty as dictator-president.

Dalrymple—Then and Now

Ironically, Sherman Dalrymple, now the target of rank and file charges of dictatorship, was among the foremost fighters for union democracy at the URW founding convention 9 years ago. Opposing Green's attempt to force the union to accept Coleman Claherty as its International President, Dalrymple stated, "The real issue of this convention is democracy," and he warned the delegates against accepting Green's appointed president. Dalrymple then said, "Do not vote the democratic principles of your organization away."

Today Dalrymple himself is trying to usurp the democratic rights of the rubber workers, to subvert the union's democratic traditions, and to entrench himself as a dictator of the Coleman Claherty stripe.

Dalrymple correctly understood in 1935 that if the new union in rubber was to destroy the vicious open shop prevalent in the industry and organize the unorganized, the straitjacket of union bureaucracy had to be thrown off.

The 1935 rubber convention, and its battle against William Green and Coleman Claherty, was a part of the great upsurge of the American mass production workers. In the course of that upsurge the rubber workers toppled the rubber barons, but not before they had tossed aside the old-line AFL czars.

The Present Struggle

The new struggle of the rubber union which has already divided the union along factional lines is of course based on different circumstances and has different causes at its roots. In 1935 the rubber workers were girding themselves for an offensive against the corporation. Internal democracy was necessary to allow the tremendous force of the American industrial proletariat to express itself and establish mass organizations for the first time. William Green and his gang could not stifle this growing movement.

Today the rubber workers, as well as their union brothers throughout the labor movement, are on the defensive. They have already built giant unions in the major industries. But these entrenched unions are fighting under wartime conditions to retain their gains and prevent the destruction of their shop conditions and their organizations. The combined forces of the big corporations and government are laying down an anti-union barrage. The conquering industrial army of 1935, 1936, 1937 is now besieged.

In the face of this attack, the major weapon of labor, the strike, has been surrendered to the enemy by the top union officials. Without their heavy artillery, the unions are disarmed in the battle against the well-planned campaign by the employers to undermine, wear out and destroy the unions.

Thus the problems of the 1944 convention differ from the URWA's first constitutional convention. But whether they are fighting to conquer new fields or to retain and defend their gains, the key to success for the rubber workers lies in democratic control of the union by the rank and file. With this control challenged and threatened by Dalrymple, the convention can very well determine whether or not the rubber workers can successfully defend their union against the corporations' union-busting campaign.

Dalrymple's Campaign Against Ranks

Much of the convention debate will center around Dalrymple's arbitrary expulsion of 72 bandbuilders at the General Tire and Rubber Company in Akron last January. Without a trial, and without even ascertaining the facts of the case, Dalrymple expelled these workers from the union because they replied to continued company provocation with a walkout. The "Air Bag," published by Goodrich Local 5, stated on August 6:

"As everyone knows, this convention. . . will decide the appeals of 72 General Tire Local 9 members who in January were expelled and fired by Dalrymple unconstitutionally. The international Executive Board upheld Dalrymple in his illegal action.

"Our local has gone all-out in defense of the General Tire workers and at the convention will push its appeal to uphold our action in having put Sherman Dalrymple on trial and expelling him from local 5 as a traitor to labor.

"Since the membership of our local has spoken most unmistakably on this whole question in the past, and since not a single voice has once been raised on the local's floor in defense of Dalrymple and the International Board, there can be no question that our fight for democracy against dictatorship must be waged to the fullest extent."

Opposition to Dalrymple

Both the Firestone and Goodrich Locals have passed resolutions supporting General Local 9.

The opposition to Dalrymple's expulsions, led by Goodrich local, was quick to spread and so powerful that all but 7 of the bandbuilders at General were reinstated into their local. But this retreat was temporary. Soon afterward two members of General Local 9 were expelled for "disruptive activities" because they led the opposition to Dalrymple's action in setting up an administrator over the local. Several smaller locals have since been disciplined for violation of the no-strike pledge. Dalrymple has obviously determined to hew to the line in his attempt to stifle the militancy of the rubber workers and to enforce the no-strike pledge.

Why has Dalrymple taken such flagrantly dictatorial steps in a union where traditions are exceptionally democratic? The fluent cuss words which many rubber workers use to describe Dalrymple's character fall short of the mark. Dalrymple does not differ very much from any other top CIO official. Because of the democratic traditions and the peculiar make-up of the rubber union, Dalrymple is under heavier pressure from the rank and file than many other union functionaries. For years the relationship between the International Office of the URWA and the local unions has been very close since its headquarters is situated in Akron, where 50,000 rubber workers are concentrated.

Dalrymple Fears Militants

It is precisely because he has his ear to the ground, and knows what the average militant union member is thinking, that Dalrymple was driven to commit his crimes against union democracy. He fears the rising tide! In rubber as in auto and steel, the CIO workers are getting fed up with the stalling of the War Labor Board, are more and more indignant against company provocations, and are threatening to take matters into their own hands. This rising militancy of the workers threatens to rescind the no-strike pledge in action unless the Murrays, the Thomases, and the Dalrymples can hold back the flood by means of ruthless bureaucratic repressions.

Having entered the camp of the capitalist war-mongers as bond-sellers, professional patriots, and above all, as trouble-shooters for the strike-breaking governmental apparatus, the top union officials cannot reply to the dissatisfaction of the ranks except by use of the hatchet.

In April, 1943 Dalrymple got his first real scare since the no-strike pledge was inaugurated. He has never forgotten that on April 1, after the War Labor Board had flatly rejected the wage demands of the rubber workers, the workers replied with the mightiest strike in rubber since the IWW strike of 1913. The solid walkout of the Firestone, Goodrich and Goodyear workers in Akron lasted five days. During that time Dalrymple could not say much about the no-strike pledge. He was forced by the power of the strike to give lip-service to the strikers' demands. No one was expelled afterwards. No local was disciplined.

But the URWA International Board knew that, should the workers be allowed to reply to the insults of the WLB and the anti-union barrage of the corporations with strikes, their whole policy of surrender to the war machine would be meaningless, and their leadership would stand revealed as impotent. So they waited until a small local, General Local 9, had engaged in a walkout, and began their campaign to demoralize the rubber workers by means of expulsions. Instead of demoralizing the workers, however, they reaped a whirlwind.

CIO Policy at Stake

The International officers are determined to smash the opposition in order to enforce the no strike pledge, to adhere to the WLB and to wage no serious fight against the wage freeze. Not only their own leadership, but the whole policy of surrender of the CIO officialdom is at stake.

Never before has the leadership of Sherman Dalrymple and his top clique been as seriously threatened as it is today. Never in the history of the URWA since 1935 has there appeared such a well organized opposition from below. Factional struggles have been a rarity in the rubber union where the political level has been far below that of the auto union. But in this current fight the rubber workers are skipping many stages in the usual union jockeying for posts and clique fights. They are cutting through to clear issues in a hurry.

The Opposition Group

This does not mean that the opposition group is a politically conscious and directed force organized around a privileged and consistent program. On the contrary, the opposition is torn by internal contradictions. The basic political program of Dalrymple and of his opponents is essentially the same. Both groups support the war; both groups campaign for Roosevelt. But, while Dalrymple and his supporters have completely divorced themselves from the ranks and have flagrantly and openly performed the dirty strikebreaking tasks demanded by Wall Street's war machine, the leaders of the present opposition have been propelled in the opposite direction by the constant pressure of the ranks.

Large sections of militant rubber unionists through a city-wide caucus in Akron, and through connections with outlying locals, have declared war on the no-strike pledge. They are sworn to demand the resignation of all labor members of the War Labor Board. They are angry at company provocations and are eager to retaliate. This group is fearful of fascist developments at home and do not see how the so-called war for "democracy" can be won with a labor movement deprived of democratic life and striking power.

But this group is attempting to reconcile its support of Roosevelt's war program with the needs and interests of the workers. This they can never do. The capitalist war by its very essence demands increased exploitation and the undermining of the standards and rights of labor. Thus the further development of their fight will inevitably confront Dalrymple's opponents with the necessity of making a definitive choice between the two irreconcilable courses before American labor — either submit to Wall Street's war for profits or else go all-out in labor's struggle for independence and security.

At the last convention of the URWA many delegates also went instructed and determined to fight against the no-strike pledge. But they were met by a great patriotic barrage. The opposition delegates allowed their fight to degenerate into corridor politics, horse trades and deals. They were the victims of their own political inconsistency. Unless the delegates at this convention are conscious of the basic meaning of their struggle, it is possible for a similar debacle to occur again.

Meaning of Coming Struggle

To throw off the no-strike pledge means to cast aside the shackles of the whole government war apparatus which now imprisons labor. It means to break the coalition with Roosevelt and to launch a serious offensive against his whole fraudulent "Equality of Sacrifice" program which has enriched the monopolists and undermined the living standards of the masses. It means above all to reply to the anti-labor phalanx of the Democratic and Republican parties with the creation of labor's own party.

The rubber union is awakening. Clarity will come in and through battle. This convention will pose the most profound working class problems, and no matter what the immediate result, the debate can only lift the consciousness of the workers to a higher stage. Even if the rubber workers should fail to unseat Dalrymple or to revoke the no-strike pledge, the fight itself will crystallize a new left wing and prepare the union for the new courageous leadership which it must find to meet its problems.

Should the opposition emerge victorious, the militants still cannot rest on their laurels. It will signify a great resurgence of militancy and the repudiation of the dictatorial regime of Dalrymple and his policy of surrender. But the need for a clear, class-conscious program and a leadership which has severed all political ties with the capitalist war machine will still be there.

The coming convention can be the stepping stone toward new goals through great new class battles on both the economic and political fields for the rubber workers.

Pioneer Paragraphs

PROOFS OF STALIN'S GUILT IN TROTSKY'S ASSASSINATION

World public opinion has instinctively accepted the proposition that Stalin is responsible for the murder of Trotsky. With the exception of the servants, friends and defenders of the GPU, every informed person has already found Stalin guilty of that murder. This is quite natural, for the world has for a long time been acquainted with the implacable hostility which Stalin, the destroyer of the Russian Revolution, had against Trotsky who, with Lenin, organized and led that revolution. Intelligent people, acquainted with the unbelievable calumnies hurled against Trotsky during the Moscow Trials, and knowing that Stalin had gotten rid of every individual who took a leading part in the Russian Revolution, understood that this monster behind the walls of the Kremlin would not rest until the man whom he feared most was put out of the way.

But in concluding that Stalin is the real murderer of Trotsky we do not depend simply on the generally accepted fact that he was anxious to get rid of Trotsky. We contend that an objective examination of every available bit of evidence can lead to no other conclusion on the part of individuals capable of thinking independently. The verdict of guilty is supported by evidence which is irrefutable and by argument which is unanswerable.

It is true that in this case we are confronted by a situation where we have in our possession only circumstantial evidence; we do not have at our disposal the archives of Stalin and the GPU. In all probability, before he dies or is overthrown by the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, Stalin will destroy these archives. But circumstantial evidence is no weaker than other evidence. A criminal need not be caught in the act of committing a crime before he is convicted. If he denies his guilt or succeeds in escaping, the evidence that he leaves behind him is just as strong, and just as convincing. In this case, all of the circumstances of the crime permit of only one conclusion — the one that has already been instinctively accepted by world public opinion.

In the following pages I shall prove beyond all possible doubt that the assassin Jacson's story with reference to his origin, to his mission in Mexico, to his reasons for killing Trotsky, are absolutely false; that Jacson's falsifications can lead to the one conclusion — that he is concealing those who are really responsible for the murder and that his whole story was concocted for that very purpose; that the real criminal can be only Stalin, who directed the GPU to murder Trotsky; that Jacson was an agent of the GPU and through the GPU of Stalin himself; that Jacson's falsifications can be explained only on the basis that Stalin is guilty of the murder of Trotsky.

(From the introductory note to "The Assassination of Leon Trotsky: The Proofs of Stalin's Guilt," by Albert Goldman, Pioneer Publishers, 1940, 74 pp., 15c. Order from Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, N. Y .3, N. Y.)

by C. Charles

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Leon And Natalia Trotsky

Leon and Natalia Trotsky photographed at a picnic near Coyoacan, Mexico. This is one of the last photographs taken of Comrade Trotsky.

F.I. Features Trotsky Memorial

The August issue of *Fourth International*, now on sale, is the Trotsky Memorial Number, commemorating the fourth anniversary of the great revolutionist's death at the hands of Stalin's assassin. It features two exceptionally penetrating essays by Leon Trotsky and numerous articles covering various phases of his life and work.

The first of Trotsky's pieces, entitled Tasks of Communist Education, **treats this subject from the high plane of historical perspective, but with that concreteness and precision which was uniquely his. The other is Trotsky's introduction to his collection of writings and speeches as a leader of the Communist International between its First and Fourth Congresses.**

Li Fu-jen, well known to F.I. readers for his expert analyses of Far Eastern affairs, contributes a comprehensive exposition of Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution in its application to the struggles of the colonial peoples for emancipation from imperialism. William Simmons writes about Trotsky's conception of America's hegemony in world economy and the role of U. S. imperialism in Europe, which is being verified today by the events unfolding on that continent.

An article by Karl Radek, written in 1923, presents a picture of Trotsky, the organizer and leader of the Red Army, as viewed by the generation which he led in the civil war.

In an editorial tribute the editors appraise Trotsky's role in history as seen four years after death. His great contributions to the emancipation of mankind are summarized and emphasis is laid particularly on his crowning achievement, the Fourth International, "Trotsky's legacy to the working class of the world." His conception of the International, of the party of the revolution, the crucial importance he attached to it, the unshakable program he equipped it with, the will to victory with which he infused it—all these questions are dealt with in the evaluation of his historic stature.

Reviewing the redoubled efforts with which the forces of Trotskyism have met every challenge and persecution, the editors conclude: "In the knowledge that the persecutions of the imperialists are in reality futile attempts to stop the relentless course of history, we can gain only the greatest confidence from the fears they express about Trotskyism. We can share the firm conviction of the Old Man expressed at the founding of the Fourth International in 1938: "During the next ten years the program of the Fourth International will become the guide of millions and these revolutionary millions will know how to storm earth and heaven."

The Month in Review by the editors discusses the events in Germany after the attempted assassination of Hitler and the situation in Poland.

Single copies of Fourth International may be obtained for 20 cents, a yearly subscription for $2, by ordering from the Business Manager, 116 University Place. New York 3, N. Y.

SWP LOCALS HOLD MEMORIAL MEETINGS FOR LEON TROTSKY

(Continued from page 1)

the revolutionary movement of Czarist Russia. The titanic wave of social convulsions and conflicts which undermined and finally swept away Czarist absolutism, raised upon its crest a whole generation of a new type of leadership embodied in the Bolshevik Party of Lenin.

"This new type of man was the professional revolutionist. As other men devoted themselves to the arts, physical sciences and trades, these men and women devoted themselves to the scientific examination of the sources of human progress, to the causes of oppression and social evils, and finally to the organization of the revolutionary overthrow through the class struggle, of the decayed and outmoded capitalist system—and to the reorganization of society on a socialist basis.

"Lenin and Trotsky, co-leaders of the Russian Revolution, were not individual accidents. They were merely the most highly endowed, the foremost of that revolutionary generation nurtured by the social conditions of their land and time."

The main speaker of the evening, George Collins, spoke of the Trotskyist program for the working class of war-torn Europe. He pointed out the central importance of Trotsky's slogan: The Socialist United States of Europe.

A large amount of Trotskyist literature, including books and pamphlets, was bought by the audience at the close of the meeting.

TOLEDO, Aug. 21 — An impressive meeting was held here tonight in memory of Leon Trotsky, founder of the Fourth International, who was murdered four years ago on Stalin's orders.

Comrade Mark Braden of Newark delivered the main address of the evening. He stressed the need of remembering and applying today Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution, which will once more be proven correct by the coming revolutions in Europe.

The audience of auto and railroad workers responded with enthusiasm to the speeches of the evening, and voted unanimously to send fraternal greetings to Comrade Natalia Trotsky in Mexico.

MILWAUKEE, Aug. 20 — Jack O'Connel, Milwaukee Organizer of the Socialist Workers Party, speaking at the Trotsky Memorial meeting here, told the audience that the purpose of the meeting was not to praise or to mourn the "Old Man" but to help carry on the fight for international socialism as he expected us to do.

The audience responded generously to a collection appeal by the chairman of the meeting, William C. Crane. Records of Trotsky's speech on the Tenth Anniversary of the American Trotskyist movement and the Founding Congress of the Fourth International were heard. A telegram expressing confidence in the victory of the Fourth International was sent to Natalia Sedov Trotsky.

CHICAGO, Aug. 20 — A well-attended meeting was held here this afternoon in honor of Leon Trotsky on the fourth anniversary of his death at the hands of an assassin. Ken Hayes spoke on the ideas of Trotsky and the program of the Fourth International, which Trotsky helped to found.

The film "From Tsar to Lenin" was shown, and a recording of Trotsky's speech made on the occasion of the Founding Congress of the Fourth International was played.

Telegrams of solidarity were sent to Trotsky's widow, Natalia Trotsky, and to the 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party who were railroaded to prison last January.

DETROIT, Aug. 20—On the 4th anniversary of the assassination of Leon Trotsky, Detroit auto workers, their friends and families came together at the meeting held here tonight by the Detroit Branch of the Socialist Workers Party to pay tribute to the memory of the great revolutionist.

The main speaker of the evening, Arthur Burch, reviewed Trotsky's life as that of a conscious Marxist. He showed how Comrade Trotsky applied to himself the Marxist concept of the subordinate role of the individual in history; how by submerging his own life in the main stream of historic events, he was able to bring his great talents into far more effective and lasting use than would otherwise have been possible.

"Armed with the great weapon of Trotskyism," said Comrade Burch in closing, "we shall vindicate the faith and confidence that our martyred leader placed in us. The world revolution will by our monument to Trotsky."

After the speaker finished, a collection was taken and the meeting closed with the audience singing the Internationale.

YOUNGSTOWN — A well-attended meeting was held here last Sunday night under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party to mark the fourth anniversary of the death of Leon Trotsky.

George Andrews outlined the teachings of the great revolutionary Marxist in connection with the rising revolutionary tide in Europe and concluded that the answer to Europe's problems would be found in realization of the slogan for a Socialist United States of Europe in a Socialist World. The meeting voted unanimously to send the following telegram to Comrade Natalia Trotsky:

"We, the members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party of Youngstown, Ohio, are gathered tonight to honor the memory of Leon Trotsky and to further and continue his work in the great future which will be ours. We are with you in spirit, wife and co-worker of our Old Man, Leon Trotsky."

LOS ANGELES — About 125 workers attended the Trotsky Memorial Meeting held in the Embassy Auditorium Aug, 20, the most impressive meeting held here by the Trotskyists in several years. The audience subscribed more than $75 to help the party continue its work.

Murry Weiss, the principal speaker, described Trotsky's role in history with special emphasis on his work as founder of the Fourth International. He contrasted the growing strength of the revolutionary Marxist movement with the decay and corruption of the Stalinist and revisionist movements.

Sacco-Vanzetti: Working Class Martyrs Murdered By Capitalist Class Justice

By Ruth Johnson

Fourteen years have passed since the State of Massachusetts murdered Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, on August 22, 1927, after seven long years of imprisonment. All the world knew, long before the electric chair claimed its victims, that Sacco and Vanzetti were innocent of the crime for which they were executed. The world knew, too, why no proof of innocence could change the verdict of the courts, for the presiding judge had stated the case of capitalism in his summation to the jury in Vanzetti's first trial:

"This man, although he may not have actually committed the crime attributed to him, is nevertheless morally culpable, because he is the enemy of our existing institutions."

FEARED BOLSHEVISM

Sacco and Vanzetti died because American capitalism still trembled in fear of the victorious Bolshevik revolution, which was winning its battle against invading capitalist armies on all fronts and pointing a way to security for the workers of the world. There was no security for workers in America; the nation's economy was torn asunder by the dislocations of peace, the demobilization of the army, and the shattering of world trade as a result of the First World War. American capitalism, in 1920, saw the "menace of Bolshevism" everywhere — and where it was not visible, it was conjured up on manufactured "evidence" by which working class leaders could be imprisoned.

The Palmer Raids, named after Wilson's Attorney-General, were spreading across the nation. Union headquarters were raided; radical parties were under constant threat, meetings broken up, homes invaded and searched without warrant, workers mercilessly beaten.

Among the victims of the Palmer raids was an Italian immigrant, Andrea Salsedo, whose body hurtled fourteen stories to a New York Street on May 3, 1920 after "questioning" by the police. A fellow prisoner, hastily deported, made a statement charging the police with "third-degree" torture. Italian workers everywhere were aroused. In the neighborhood of Boston, two friends of Salsedo, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, prepared to conduct an investigation into his death, and to urge their comrades to protect themselves against similar outrages.

Two days later, Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on their way to organize a protest meeting. Each of them carried a gun, a practice which their work had made necessary for years. Assuming that they were being arrested on charges of "radicalism," as Salsedo had been, they refused to involve their comrades by making statements about their destination. The detectives, however, were planning a crasser frame-up.

BRIDGEWATER FRAMEUP

On December 24, 1919 at Bridgewater, Massachusetts, a payroll holdup was attempted by a gang of bandits driving a Buick car. On April 14, 1920, a successful payroll robbery resulted in the shooting of Paymaster Frederick A. Parmenter and guard Alexander Berardelli of the Slater and Morrill shoe plant; the gang used a car for its getaway. Sacco and Vanzetti had a friend who happened to own a car similar in appearance!

In 1916 Vanzetti had led a strike of 4,000 rope and twine workers in Plymouth; the strike was won, but Vanzetti was blacklisted. Unable to find employment, he became a fish-peddler, continuing to work as a leader and teacher of the Italian workers in the Boston area. He was a student of revolutionary philosophy, an able agitator, deeply loved by the Italian workers.

He was tried first, for the attempted robbery in Bridgewater. He was bewildered at the conduct of the trial and prevented by his attorney from testifying on his own behalf. Witnesses for the prosecution offered perjured testimony; testimony of nine defense witnesses, who said they had bought eels from Vanzetti miles from Bridgewater on the day of the crime, was disregarded. Judge Thayer, who presided over this trial as well as over the second, was viciously anti-alien, openly anti-radical. Vanzetti was convicted and sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment.

With this conviction established to set a "criminal record" for Vanzetti, both men were put on trial for the Braintree case. Sacco, less prominent than Vanzetti, had likewise won the love of the Italian workers and the hatred of the bosses by his participation in a victorious shoe-workers' strike in 1918. He was a close friend of Vanzetti, and had taken part in defense campaigns for victimized radical workers.

TRIAL TESTIMONY

The notorious trial in the Braintree case lasted for seven weeks, from May 21, to July 14, 1921. Again witnesses for the prosecution gave testimony so contradictory that no one could doubt its perjury. For the defense, nine witnesses, including the clerk of the Italian Consulate in Boston, testified that they had spoken to Sacco during the afternoon of the crime. Six witnesses swore to having seen Vanzetti in Plymouth, 35 miles from Braintree, on the same afternoon. As in the first trial, the evidence for the defense was disregarded. Judge Thayer, who in the first trial told the jury that Vanzetti was "morally culpable," now referred to both men as "conscious of guilt as murderers or as slackers and radicals."

The trial was conducted as an open red-hunt. Visitors to court were searched for bombs. Witnesses for the defense were terrorized and fired from their jobs. The jury took only five hours to consider the mountainous record of testimony presented during the seven week trial. The verdict: guilty. The sentence: death in the electric chair.

The conviction of Sacco and Vanzetti was a deliberate act of terrorization against the working class. All over the world workers raised their voices in mass protests. The International Labor Defense of which James P. Cannon was National Secretary, organized street demonstrations and mass meetings in every industrial city, not only in the United States, but in Moscow, London, Berlin, Paris, Vienna, Canton, Shanghai, Rio de Janeiro, Sydney. But all appeals for a new trial were denied.

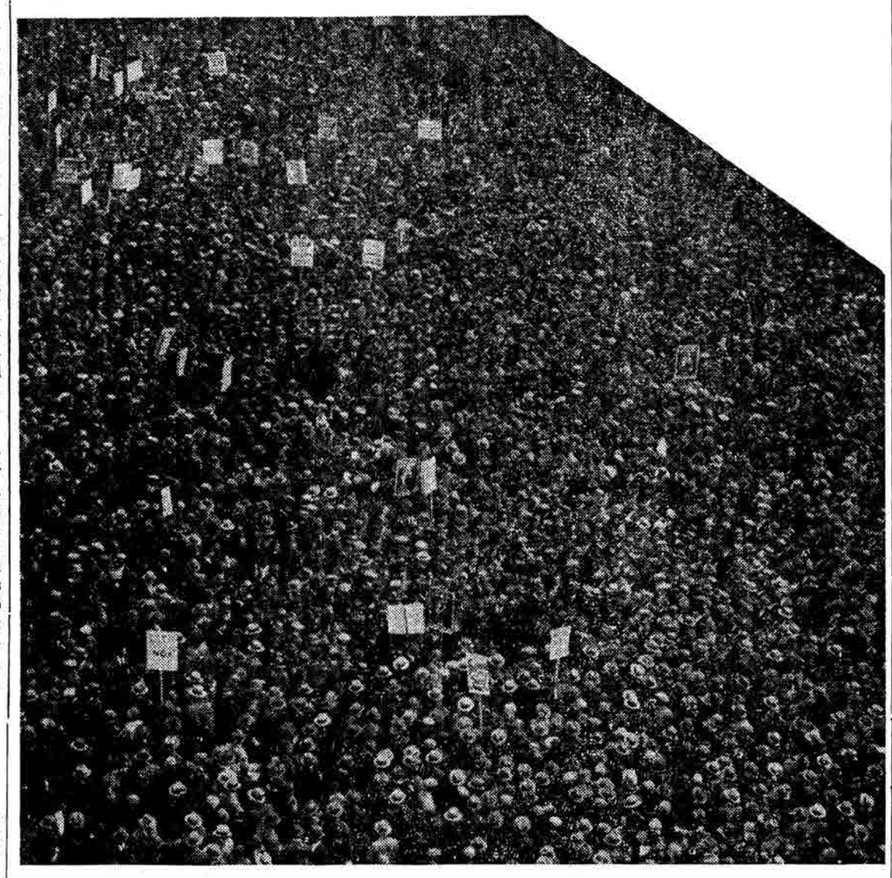
Almost two years before the execution, a fellow prisoner, Celestino M. Madeiro confessed to Vanzetti and the police that he had been involved in the South Braintree murders. He swore that neither Sacco nor Vanzetti was implicated. Despite this evidence, a new trial was refused, pardon was denied, and mass protest meetings were broken up by teargas, night-sticks and blackjacks. The capitalist courts were unmoved by the evidence, because the innocence of the men had never been the issue. It was "Bolshevism" they hoped to burn in the electric chair, when the switch was pulled to end the lives of Sacco and Vanzetti.

DAY OF EXECUTION

When news of the execution reached the tense crowds of workers, on midnight of August 22, 1927, there were agonized outcries. In Union Square, the N. Y. **World**, reported, "The crowd responded with a giant sob. Women fainted. . . Others, too, overcome, dropped to the curbs and buried their heads in their hands. Men leaned on one another's shoulders and wept."

The workers of the world have not forgotten Sacco and Vanzetti. Their murder remains today in the hearts of the workers a damning exposure of the cynical brutality of "democratic" capitalist justice. Vanzetti's words burn still. . .

"The taking of our lives—lives of a good-shoemaker and a poor fish peddler — all! That last moment belongs to us — that agony is our triumph."



The above photograph of a huge demonstra tion held in New York in 1927 to demand the freedom of Sacco and Vanzetti is typical of the tremendous crowds of workers who assembled in almost every major city of the globe to protest the frame-up murders.

Sacco and Vanzetti, manacled and watched by an armed guard, photographed after sentence of death was passed in April, 1927.

Pravda Discloses Discontent Among RedArmyVeterans

(Continued from page 1)

Although full details are lacking, it is clear that a serious conflict is developing

So important is this development that the Moscow **Pravda** began publicly to discuss it early in April of this year, in the midst of the great victories of the Red Army's spring offensive. On April 8, **Pravda** devoted its leading editorial to this subject in order to state that the reintegration of the Red veterans and invalids in industry was proceeding very "unsatisfactorily." Here is a characteristic passage:

"We must and we are dutybound to achieve this, that all (Red Army) invalids, physically able to work, are given employment in productive occupations. But a mechanical disposition of people, utilizing them without taking into account each individual and what he can do, is absolutely intolerable. **Yet this, after all, is the practice in many factories** and plants. Our enterprises feel the need of skilled labor power, but at the same time the invalids, arriving at the factories, are at every step utilized as storekeepers, or watchmen, or auxiliary workers, although many of them are skilled men, lathemen, turners, electricians, chauffeurs who have been certified as fit for physical labor. It is necessary to train and retrain **more energetically than has hitherto been the** case those invalids who owing to the nature of their wounds must be shifted from their previous trades; it is necessary to be much bolder in promoting them, step by step, to more highly skilled work." (**Pravda**, April 8.)

Pravda goes on to warn:

"Day-to-day attention, effective assistance to the organs of social security by the Soviet organs, by the local party and trade union organizations — this is what is now required in order further to improve the placing of invalids in industry. At the same time it is necessary to remember that taking care of a man is not at all exhausted by assigning him to a place of employment. It is no less important that every one who is placed is correctly utilized, and is given an opportunity to develop at his job, is able to perfect his skill in order that he thus be made to feel that there is concern about his personal life

Cautious as **Pravda's** wording is, the picture is clear enough. Red Army soldiers, wounded in battle, men who have gained self-confidence, who have become accustomed to show resourcefulness and initiative in battle, are being shunted aside, treated as so much human flotsam and jetsam by the bureaucrats behind the lines.

It is not difficult to imagine the reaction and resentment that such treatment inescapably engenders among the Red Army invalids.

The rank and file workers in Soviet factories, we may be sure, do not remain indifferent to this brutal treatment of the men who are universally respected in the USSR — the front-line fighters.

What the Kremlin fears is of course the repercussion of such treatment of the Red Army veterans among their comrades-in-arms still at the front. Hence the attempt to rectify the situation by the long-established method of cracking the whip from the top. Needless to say, editorials in **Pravda** will not appreciably remedy a situation the roots of which lie in the usurping and intolerable position which the bureaucracy occupies in Soviet society.

Only the self-action of the Soviet veterans together with their class brothers can bring any real amelioration in the position of the Red Army invalids and the mass of workers. As the struggle against German imperialism nears its victorious conclusion, as more and more millions of Red soldiers return to civilian life, the conflict between the rank and file and the bureaucratic usurpers is bound to intensify.

"THAT AGONY IS OUR TRIUMPH"

"If it had not been for these things, I might have live out my life talking at street corners to scorning men. I might have die, unhonored, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for justice, for man's understanding of man as we do now by accident.

"Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoe-maker and a poor fish peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph!"

(From Vanzetti's statement after sentence of death was pronounced on April 9, 1927.)

Native And Foreign Capitalists Jointly Exploit Mexican Masses

By A. Roland

The Mexican rulers act like a class half-frightened at their own success. They hardly expected so great a victory over world imperialism in regaining their natural resources for themselves. The very fact that they must turn to the self-same imperialists for the finances to fully exploit their victory, serves now to cause them to frame all their policies with a view to placating the foreign bankers. Cardenas was forced to turn to the Axis when the United States and England put on the economic screws by boycotting Mexican oil. But the exigencies of the war changed all this, and President Camacho can turn freely for aid to the United States.

But the financiers have never acted the part of philanthropists, as the Mexican bourgeoisie has every reason to know. Whatever assistance is given to Mexico will ultimately be paid for in hard cash. Mexican capitalism in carrying on its own exploitation of workers and peasants will at the same time be executing the program of exploitation of the foreign imperialists. Only now a somewhat larger share of the profits will go to the home capitalists.

DUAL EXPLOITATION

The apparent change in policies under Camacho with respect to the Mexican working class is more than a matter of placating the foreign holders of the money bags. It is a necessity for effecting the dual exploitation of the Mexican masses on the new foundations. The masses rallied enthusiastically to the support of the regime when the struggle was commenced to expropriate the resources held under the claws of the imperialists. This was a common cause. But now—overnight—the masses are beginning to learn that the fruits of the common victory will go to the small, privileged ruling class, and not to all. The gains made by the workers were meant to be only temporary. Already the capitalists are wiping out these gains that had seemed destined for permanent social betterment.

The more the workers were encouraged previously to expect a continued, substantial improvement in their standards of living, the greater now becomes their disillusionment. The social and political temperature has taken a sharp drop; the class struggle has been sharply intensified. The serious inflation that creates Mexican millionaires and mass impoverishment lends profound depth to the struggle.

Open clashes have not been wanting. Camacho has included the most reactionary anti-labor elements in his Cabinet. The President's brother, Maximo Camacho, has been for years the local dictator in the state of Puebla. Avila Camacho appointed his brother to a cabinet post as minister of communications and public works. When Governor of Puebla, Maximo was quoted as saying: "I never have labor troubles; I answer workers with machine guns."

In September 1941, only a short time after the appointment of Maximo, the Munition Workers Union sent a delegation to the home of the President to present **a petition of grievances. The Federal troops under Col. Ochoa, Chief of the Presidential Staff, fired into the "mob," killing about 20 workers and wounding 42, including women and children. The workers of Mexico answered this outrage by appearing 100,000 strong at the funeral. Every government office was forced to be closed.**

CAMACHO'S POLICIES

The Cardenas regime permitted a strong sprinkling of Stalinists and their stooges to hold office in the ministry of education. Camacho "corrected" this by replacing the so-called "leftists," Octavio Vejar Ponton, by the army officer Vejar Vazquez as minister of education. Vazquez promptly purged his bureau of all Stalinists and "leftists." He reassured the Church concerning secular education by his dictum: "There can be no education in Mexico without the sign of the cross behind it." Coeducation was abolished.

Camacho served notice too in the strike of the Mexican Tramway Company workers in January 1941 that the workers were no longer to think of making demands to participate in management of industry. The Company was British-Canadian owned. True enough, a compromise was effected, the workers being given one-half million dollars for wage increases and back pay. But the enterprise was also allowed to raise the price of weekly commutation tickets in order to meet the wage increase.

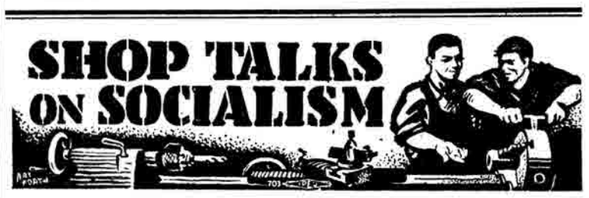
The greatest tension of all has arisen in connection with the steeply mounting cost of living. There have been numerous protest meetings and demonstrations — even riots—in Mexico City and elsewhere on this score. The war has proved a bonanza for the owning class, a catastrophe for the poor. The United States has come into the market for relatively enormous quantities of materials, and the natural consequence has been inflation.

The tightening of class lines to left and to right proved alarming to the Camacho regime. Its attempts at placating both sides, with far greater emphasis in making concessions to the right, failed to achieve the goal of pacifying the situation. It was owing more to this internal situation than to outside urge that Camacho decided to enter the war. He felt that this would permit him to carry out dictatorial policies in line with bourgeois aims, without further opposition from the working class whose leaders, under Stalinist influence, were pro-war.

ENTRY INTO WAR

The correspondent, Martha Lane, interpreted the situation quite accurately in an article entitled "Behind Mexico's War Declaration." She wrote at the time: "In effect the declaration of war does two things. It makes President Camacho virtual dictator; and by binding pro-war organized labor to co-operation with the administration, it eases the internal tension for the time being. Vicente L. Toledano, leader of the CTM (at that time), the organized labor movement—has been one of the warmest supporters of a war declaration. With him have stood the Cardenistas—the followers of Cardenas."

SHOP TALKS ON SOCIALISM



By V. Grey

Last week we were talking about just how smart these capitalists really are. Especially how they're not smart enough to stop depressions and wars, even though their whole system is damaged by them. But Jim says, "What about guys like Henry Kaiser or Ford? Kaiser is a crackerjack executive. Made all-time production records in "his" shipyards, etc. And Ford, even if he is the dirtiest enemy of unionism, had a big hand in streamlining automobile production. It's true, he introduced sweatshop conditions in auto, but he introduced mass production, too." And Jim adds "Now I don't believe all I read in the papers. But it does seem as though guys like Ford and Kaiser are smart enough to figure out some production system for the post-war times."

Although the great majority of the capitalist class are idlers and usually don't have enough gumption to clip their own coupons, you do occasionally run across one or two of the breed who are their own executives and more or less manage the business themselves. Kaiser may or may not be the genius he's cracked up to be. But the Kaiser shipyards are more productive than others. Ford, though a little on the doddering side, undoubtedly could tell you a great deal about mass production. There are probably several others, too, who really earn a small portion of their tremendous income. And several who are really interested in cars or ships or whatever their business is, as well as profits.

THE OUTWORN PROFIT SYSTEM

But the point is that the whole system is a **profit system**, and whatever brainstorms these guys may have can only work in that system, or else be junked. It's not that Kaiser, as a **manager**, is so useless to us, but the whole system of production and distribution, the system that he rises or falls by, that system is useless and out-of-date Sure, the yards are efficient. For that matter every large shop is efficient, too. But the whole trouble is that the minute you get **outside** the shop, everything is all mixed up. And nobody, from "brain-trusters" to "rugged individualists," seems able to unmix it.

Take a look at the shop. It has the latest machinery, conveyor belts, overhead cranes, manual and electric hoists. Always something new, to increase production. You stare at a new-fangled machine about ten minutes and then forget about it. And it's old before you know it. In order to make profits, they have to pare down the smallest inefficiency in the shop. They have to eliminate every kind of waste, find uses for every by-product. Look at the way they even save the shavings from the drill presses, and the millings of dural, steel, magnesium, etc. On the production line every operation is next to the following one. You even drill, ream and countersink on the same drill press nowadays.

But what happens when you get outside the plant? You wouldn't **think much of a plant where they drilleu holes in one shop and countersunk them in another. And yet if you take capitalist production as a whole, that's the way it works.** Henry Kaiser, for instance, may have plenty of efficiency within the West Coast shipyards. But he sends way out to Buffalo, New York for welded ship ladders. If the nation was one whole production system, would the plant manager last two minutes who made ladders on one side of the country and installed them on the other?

An engine lathe operator who took a two-inch bar to make 3/8 bolts would be considered slightly crazy and sent to the dispensary for observation before he was fired. But on a nation-wide scale, especially in distribution, this happens all the time. One example is the immense number of automobiles that are produced—slapped together so they won't last too long, and the buyer will have to get another in three or four years. Look at the auto "graveyards" of the country. What a disgrace that is—in the foremost mechanical nation of the world. If we were producing autos for ourselves and we were at all concerned with economy, would we stand for such an awful waste of steel?

Look at the milk companies! They pasteurize and bottle the milk in a slick modern way. But you see six different milk wagons going around the same block. They're from different companies, of course. But the milk all came from the same cows and has the same amount of water in it (as much as the law allows). What kind of sense is it to use six trucks in such a wasteful way? What kind of a shop would it be where five or six trucks came around with the same kind of stock and left some at every fifth or sixth machine? Why can't we have the same efficiency in distribution that there is in shop production?

Why last summer, in our town, the milk dealers decided to deliver every other day, to save gas and tires. **But they were all so worried about one stealing a march on the other, that some mornings you'd see two or three trucks at the same minute and the next morning none of them would run at all. The boys who were working on outdoor construction would have chocolate milk, "orange" drink, homogenized milk, and every kind of dairy product on Monday.** On Tuesday, they'd have cold coffee and water. Suppose the dispatchers in the shop all ran around like mad on Monday and then all stayed at home on Tuesday? The shop runs methodically. Why doesn't the system as a whole?

TAKE THE CASE OF MILK

Speaking of milk, do you remember how the milk bill used to hurt so much in the 30's that you cut down your order? Five to ten dollars and more a month was too big a piece of your income. But farmers were getting a cent a quart for it at that time (and with no water added at that). They butchered their cows. They went broke. And your kids didn't have enough milk.

In the meantime, some milk companies were forced out of business by others. So pasteurizing equipment was wasted, cows were wasted, farming ability was wasted, and all the time your family did without a much-needed quart of milk.

There's no teamwork here. It's just as though the huge conveyor system at the River Rouge Plant was only working in patches. The main assembly line going right along with half of the feedlines coming in empty. At the end of the line the car would limp off the ramp with three wheels and half a motor.

Yes, shop production technique, the assembly line, conveyor belt, and all that have come a long ways. But it's come up slambang against the very system that started it. The Fords and the Kaisers can't do anything about that either. If the system as a whole happens to be working, their plants are more efficient than those of other capitalists. If the system is broken down, their plants are just as idle as the rest.

When it comes to organizing the nation's production as a whole, neither Ford, Kaiser nor any of the rest of them can give one single helpful suggestion, because it simply cannot be done under capitalism. They may know something about running their "own" plants, and it's possible we'll allow some of them to work for us in that capacity, when we workers take over all the plants. But it's only by turning the whole system of production and distribution into one vast unit—like a shop on a big scale—that we can do any planning at all.

SOCIALISM WILL END CHAOS

We working people will manage the new system well, too. It will be like trying out a newly-invented machine. There may be a little awkwardness about it at first, but a growing sureness and confidence when we see the amazing results of our work. With this machine, this socialist system in hand, we can put Ford's and Kaiser's achievements in the shade. They'll have to go way back and take a seat.

The Negro Struggle

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED" — KARL MARX.

By Charles Jackson

An Editor Objects

Our July 17th report of the Chicago NAACP Conference found a tender spot on the anatomy of the editor of the Los Angeles Tribune. Not the kind of tenderness demonstrated by a cat with her kittens but the kind one would unavoidably display if he sat on a tack.

The column in question brought out the fact that, although there is an increasingly strong and militant membership in the NAACP, the delegates to the conference came away without proposing any program of organized mass action of the type which would advance our aims for equality. It also exposed the fact that several delegates took the floor and insulted the brown masses by referring to the militants as "socially undesirable." We observed that, since the group is predominantly working class and predominantly of insecure income, we should send more representatives to our conferences who have a workers' outlook and fewer preachers, doctors, lawyers, etc.

EXCERPTS FROM TRIBUNE

The Tribune published the column in full and then laced into our analysis with flowery fury. Several excerpts follow:

"The class revolutionists have us Negroes trying to see yawning chasms on our racial terrain between the professionals and the 'workers' that last in itself an obscure term which seeks to convey the impression that teachers, doctors, lawyers do not work because they can do so in white collars . . . in summary he says that the Negro's leadership is insincere because it is educated; passive because it is unexplosive; and unrepresentative of the Negro protest because in the majority of instances it comes from among the professional and skilled rather than the unskilled 'workers,' using the term here to denote anyone who performs a given task for his livelihood.

"Of course, it is obvious that Jackson wrote, not for Negro consumption, but for the members of his political faith, who are a bit difficult for the layman to classify, but we believe we are correct in assuming are a branch of the Communist Internationale which broke with the Stalinists when Communism appeared to retrogress into Capitalism and tempered somewhat its ideas on world revolution." (Note: here the editor assumed correctly).

"No doubt the Trotskyists sincerely see great divisions of interest along economic class lines in America and in the world at large; we don't question their sincerity, but we certainly submit that Jackson is spilling a lot of hogwash in dreaming up any such division of aim among Negroes. . .

THE ERUDITE EDITOR

"It is pure cant for Mr. Jackson to attempt to disparage the respected leaders of the NAACP by holding up for ridicule their 'well-fed wives.' Let Mr. Jackson, in the America of this war day, find an ill-fed wife, particularly among what he describes as the 'Negro masses'. . ."

Farther along the editorial quotes with alarm our factual statement that . . ."After members of an equally intelligent race are kept in fear and subjugation and meet the insults and kicking around of second-class citizenship each and every day, it is psychologically natural for them, on occasion, to be rude and discourteous and to wear a chip on their shoulder." The truth, however, frightens our erudite editor who, in almost Bilbo fashion, shouts back: "That is the kind of talk that makes for riots. . . We must continue to war on anti-social behaviour within the group. . ."

According to the Tribune, the only division which exists between Negroes is "strictly one of conduct and the popular term for the dividing line is 'race pride' . . . There are Negroes who shame and disgrace themselves and their race . . . and those who, out of self-respect and racial pride go beyond the limit of gentility." Such moralist criteria, however, depend entirely upon one's point of view. To expose the editor's point of view, let's tear a sheet from the pages of American history in slavery days. Those slaves who led or took part in a justified revolt were described by the Southern Bourbons as (with acknowledgement to the Tribune) "Negroes who shame and disgrace themselves and their r a c e," whereas one who, "out of self-respect and racial pride" went in the masters opinion, "beyond the limit of gentility" would have been an Uncle Tom of the first water.

OPPOSES MILITANCY

In fact, the editorial as a whole makes much more clear than did the Militant column the degree of militancy we may expect from these highly educated civic leaders. Every sentence reveals the contradictory position of this member of an oppressed minority who is attempting to create a niche where he can ignore the militant struggle for racial equality as well as its counterpart, the struggle against economic slavery.

The editor even goes so far as to inferentially question the existence of groups described as "workers" and "Negro masses." This attempt to throw dust at the class struggle is intended to weaken working class solidarity and serves as an aid to the efforts of the ruling class which is the basic enemy of the brown people in their quest for equal recognition.

Although it is true that doctors and teachers are actually skilled workers, yet it remains a fact that when the workers were asked to stand by one of the speakers only 14 stood. The professional and civic leaders evidently had their own ideas about in which classification they did not belong.

"EXPLOSIVE" EPOCHS

As to the "well-fed wives," no personal reference to size or shape was intended. We figuratively referred to the relative economic security of the family of a professional in comparison with that of a worker who is fired during a layoff.

That the editor symbolizes the servile and passive policies of the people he defends is shown by his final statement: "Explosions only destroy; they have never been known to build up anything." Would he call the Revolutionary War, the American Civil War or the Russian Revolution explosions? If so, does he deny the advances that society made during these "explosive" epochs?

If a lawyer, doctor or school teacher is steadfastly militant in action as well as words and has a working class outlook by which our problems will approach solution he will get our support. Until then we will continue to admonish the brown masses to seek new leaders.

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Witches' Brew At Washington

See Editorial on Page 6.

Roosevelt Seizes Plants As A Blow To San Francisco Union

(Continued from page 1)

whose San Francisco plants are merely branches. With the help of the association here, these plants have been a stumbling block in contract negotiations." He also stated "that when the larger machine shop owners realized that the smaller shops would sign a new agreement they rushed to the WLB and precipitated the controversy."

The union leaders charged that the WLB was "employer controlled." This contention was supported by E. C. Davison, International Secretary of the International Association of Machinists, who stated: "We have examined the record of the case and deplore what appears to be collusion between the Tenth Regional W.L.B. and the California Metal Trades Association, Inc."

In a previous interview, *(The Militant*, June 10th), Dillon stated that the bosses had a long term plan to try to break Lodge 68. They just went through the formality of negotiation and conciliation required by law and, at the earliest possible opportunity, threw the case into the War Labor Board. The Regional Board, unable to find any adequate grounds for forcing the men to capitulate to the demands of the employers, referred the case to the National Board early in July.

WLB THREATS

The National Board continued the threats against the union using as its argument the statements of Army and Navy officials that the union was impeding war production. It demanded that the men continue working before it would undertake to negotiate the differences. In effect, the WLB tried to keep the men working without the benefit of a contract. However, finding themselves unable to prove their contention, action on enforcement was delayed week after week.

The employers fearing the union's prestige was on the increase and that some of the small shops were on the point of breaking, brought the case to a head at Federal Mogul bearing plant. The plant ordered its machinists to work overtime. Only a few who, Dillon claims, were "in collusion with the company" obeyed the order.

The union immediately demanded that the company fire those men who were disobeying the decision of the union membership and called the rest of the men off the job. The company refused the request and declared a strike to be in progress. The next day the case was referred to the President by the WLB.

The machinery of intimidation was once again brought into full play. Announcement was made of a letter denouncing the union signed by Undersecretary of War, Robert E. Patterson; Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Ralph A. Bard; Chairman Emery S. Land of U. S. Maritime Commission; Chairman Donald Nelson of the War Production Board and high officials of the War and Navy Departments. Their charge was "wanton and callous contempt toward the national interests." Federal Mogul immediately requested the authority of the WLB to recruit non-union workers to replace those who walked out.

On August 6th, the whole structure of repression was shaken at its base when Navy men conceded that they may have "overstated the case." They suddenly "discovered" that the machine shops concerned were producing adequately, thus exposing the whole sham upon which action against the Union was built. The WLB was left holding the bag. "WLB officials are fearful the report will cause the union to think it has licked the agency and will discourage employers in their effort to retain governmental support." The question for them now was "how to preserve the strength of the WLB order." In apparent answer to that, the government took over the five major shops on August 14th.

Real Admiral Bowen "seized" the plants and took possession by setting up a "one man Navy office" in downtown San Francisco and posted notices in the five plants. Individual letters were sent to each employee of Federal Mogul ordering him to return and to work overtime hours as requested.

Failure to do so would make him liable to penalties on the following counts: 1) cancellation of Selective Service deferment and immediate induction into the Army; 2) blacklisting from employment on any similar job for the duration; 3) cancellation of any special gas rations. Admiral Bowen was instructed to use the triple penalty at his discretion. "I will determine the proper time by feel," he said.

The union was forced to retreat a step. At its regular meeting August 16th, the members voted to permit overtime in the seized plants but to continue as before in the rest of the uptown shops. The employers, with the aid of the government agencies, have won their first point.

STRIKE-BREAKING FORCE

The sequence of events brings into sharp focus the role of the government agencies as a strike-breaking apparatus. The employers, refusing to maintain their contract with the union, threw the burden of the conflict onto the WLB. Then WLB, supported by Army and Navy officials, insisted upon the workers continuing to work without a contract, promising to take up their grievances sometime in the future and using a pretext for their intervention "the national interests and the war effort is being impeded." When the fallacy of this statement was exposed, their problem was not only to maintain the hand of the employers but also the tarnished prestige of the WLB. This was done by Presidential order.

Workers are learning important lessons by such bitter experiences as these. The WLB is being exposed as a body whose main purpose is to tie the hands of the workers while granting greater liberties to the union-wrecking actions of the bosses.

The Militant

may now be purchased at
242 Broadway, San Diego, Cal.

Unemployed Face Starvation Under Wall Street Plans

(Continued from page 1)

$2 a wk., provide average benefits of about $14 a wk., and cover workers for an average of 16 weeks unemployment. Over 30,000,000 of the present 64,000,000 wage earners are totally excluded from state benefits. The Byrnes proposal and the present George Bill are in sharp contrast to the original Murray-Kilgore Bill, endorsed by the entire labor movement, which provided federal payments up to $35 a week for as long as two years.

Even the pro-Roosevelt New York daily, PM, could not refrain from a piteous cry of anguish about the b u t c h e r ' s job Roosevelt's henchmen have been doing on behalf of Big Business. "President's Aides Join Tories on Demobilization," complains its headline of August 17. The story states: "President Roosevelt's spokesmen had placed him today in the strange position of undercutting his own liberal forces in Congress in their battle for demobilization legislation t h a t point toward full postwar employment and protect workers during the transition period."

This is no "strange position" at all, but a calculated maneuver. It is the traditional method of Roosevelt to avoid direct political responsibility for reactionary measures he supports in order to maintain his "liberal" reputation in the eyes of the workers. In this instance, however, the "liberal cover" is so thin that the "progressives" are scared stiff the workers will see through it. Roosevelt himself has maintained a demonstrative silence, despite repeated frantic pleas of the Congressional "liberals," first to come to the defense of the Kilgore-Murray Bill in the Senate and now, the mutilated Celler Bill, which provides minimum benefits of $12 a week and a maximum, covering only a tiny minority of workers, of $25.

In reality, even the original Kilgore-Murray Bill was a deception. It did not touch the real problem of fighting unemployment but merely provided for alleviation of its worst miseries. The emphasis placed upon its $35 maximum unemployment compensation provision — quickly reduced to a $25 maximum — concealed the fact that for most unemployed it would provide the coolie subsistence income of $12-$14 a week.

KILGORE BILL

Senator Kilgore himself, during the Senate debate, admitted that his bill was so full of "qualifications" that "the effect of these qualifications would therefore restrict the maximum benefits to about one out of every eight workers." In addition, he pointed out, that even if the maximum were extended to every head of a family it would still be far below the income necessary for "minimum subsistence" as figured by government agencies themselves.

For the average family, $35 a week would provide only 16 cents a meal per person for food; one suit every three years, one overcoat every three years for the wife. This was the highest standard proposed by the Kilgore-Murray Bill in a country which could spend over $300,000,000,000 for war and triple production almost overnight for war purposes.

While the Roosevelt administration and Congress are ramming through their starvation program for the unemployed, the same political agents of Wall Street are simultaneously pushing through measures ensuring 'postwar' profits of tens of billions for the financial and industrial monopolists. Debate on unemployment "relief" has been held up in the House during the past week to give right of way to the Administration-sponsored Colmer Surplus Property Bill, which provides the machinery for "disposing" of $75 billions to $100 billions worth of goverment-owned plants, land and goods to the private monopolies for a song.

This bill would turn over the entire "disposal" to a single administrator, already appointed by Roosevelt in the person of Surplus Property Administrator Will Clayton, world's richest cotton merchant. Clayton himself spoke for the measure before the House committee last week, while "New Dealers" like Secretary Ickes defended a similar measure before a Senate body.

HUGE STEAL

Congress has already passed a bill providing war contractors complete guarantees not only against any loss of profits from war contract terminations, but actually enabling the war profiteers to make an additional huge steal. The National Association of Manufacturers itself has commended this as an "exceptionally good law." In addition, "Rich Men's Relief" in the form of a tax rebate reserve now amounting to $28 billions and expected to reach to $40 billions has been enacted into law.

No wonder Labor, weekly of the railway workers, termed the Congressional "reconversion" scheme: "Everything the wealthy demand; nothing for the American workers!" No wonder Kilgore bitterly complained when the Senate tore his measure to pieces!

When the gigantic corporations of the country looked for a way in which to safeguard their swollen war profits it did not take the leaders of the opposition to the Kilgore Bill long to find out how to do it. They did not then say that $28,000,000,000 was too much to pay out of the Treasury!...For the corporations we have guaranteed profits as large as they earned in wartime (three times average peacetime profits), even if they do nothing to earn them."

The fight against the George Bill and the corporation measures to appropriate public property and rob the treasury is a struggle for the very existence of the trade unions and against the imposition of intolerable conditions of mass misery and hunger. That fight must be waged without compromise and by the most militant means on the part of the entire labor movement. It can be won only by independent action, economic and political, against Big Business and its Democratic and Republican plunderbund controlling the government.

Diary Of A Steel Worker

By Theodore Kovalesky

"The wearing out of the body is not compensable." I remember reading these words a few years ago in one of the magazines that factory management subscribes to. The article in which they appeared told about an old shoemaker employed in one of the big New England shoe factories, an old worker who "wore out his body."

One day as he was hammering at a last, a violent pain shot through his arm, causing him to cry out and drop his hammer. He never picked up that hammer—or anything else—again, because years of constant toil had broken down and finally wrecked his arm.

The Pitiless Profit System

It must have been a shock for the old fellow to learn at first that his right hand was gone, that from that time on he would carry only a withered, useless claw protruding stiffly from his sleeve, that he would have to learn all over again how to tie his shoes, how to eat, to light his pipe. Still, he must have reasoned, he'd get compensation. He'd be able to live with the old lady in a clean little place and never again have to worry about getting up in the dark of winter mornings when his rheumatism urged him to stay in bed instead of plodding through the snow to the factory.

And then, the hearing: a pontifical voice informing him in precise legal terms that, "the wearing out of the body is not compensable!" I can imagine the sudden horrible black emptiness, the fear and incredulity: "But what will become of us? How can we live? We are old and poor. All my life I've worked long and faithfully. How can you do this to us?"

And I can imagine the unctuous sympathy: "We're very sorry, but that is the law. If we made an exception in your case, we'd have to do the same in all cases. . ." And then, with hypocritical incomprehension, "But, you've been working all your life, except for some layoffs now and then . . . how is it that you haven't saved up money for a rainy day? Didn't you ever expect to retire?" Workers are so improvident!

"The wearing out of the body," disease, even occupational diseases . . . how long did the miners fight to have silicosis recognized as an occupational disease? How many workers died in the long struggle to get workmen's compensation laws passed? How many strikes were there in which safety devices, guards for moving machinery, stood high on the list of demands?

Thrown On The Scrap Heap

Not very long ago the boys took up a collection for Jimmy when he was off with pneumonia, which he had contracted on the job. Each day he had been sweating in the terrible heat of the job and shivering in the slashing winter wind, until finally his body rebelled, and he tossed in his bed in fever and delirium. I don't suppose Jimmy has made up for that yet, physically or economically, because the little that we were able to give couldn't have been enough for more than a few days' meat and groceries for the family and a pitifully small amount of medicine for him. Of course, he never received a penny of compensation. After all, he was just sick, and that surely was of no concern to the company.

What injustice and ingratitude faces the worker under capitalism in his daily contact with the boss! All the wealth in the world has been produced by the worker, but in his hour of direst need he finds that there is none of it for him.

10 Years Ago In The Militant

AUGUST 25, 1934

MINNEAPOLIS—General Drivers' Local 574 announced on August 22 its victory over the trucking bosses and the Citizens' Alliance of Minneapolis. "The paramount demand of the strike," **The Militant** reported, "the recognition of the inside men in the market firms (as members of the drivers' union) has been granted. . . All the strikers are to be restored to their jobs without discrimination and on the basis of seniority."

The union statement concluded, "We are calling a mass meeting of Minneapolis workers. . . There we will celebrate the victory of unionism in this fight and call on all the workers to redouble their efforts to make Minneapolis a union town."

Drawing the lessons of the long, well-organized struggle of the Minneapolis teamsters, The Militant summarized, "For the first time in years, militants . . . have entered an AFL craft union; converted it from a craft to an industrial union; combined organization with militancy and political wisdom, and emerged from a five weeks' strike against insuperable odds with victory in their laps. . . Not only is the union intact, but the leadership is still in the hands of the genuine militants."

NEW YORK—The general strike call issued by the Textile Workers Convention struck terror in the bureaucratic top leadership. Attempting to stifle the militant expression of the rank and file textile workers, Francis J. Gorman, first vice-president of the Textile Workers Union, publicly stated his hope that "Roosevelt or someone else" would be able to forestall the coming strike. AFL President William Green laid plans by which he hoped to dissipate the energies of the workers. He set up a hand-picked "committee to cooperate with the general strike committee," to stall by prolonged discussions any action directed by the strike committee itself. Sidney Hillman, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, added his pleas for compromise, hailing Roosevelt's promises of a 30-hour week under provisions of the National Recovery Act (NRA).

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To defend the USSR as the main fortress of the world proletariat, against all assaults of world imperialism and of internal counter-revolution, is the most important duty of every class-conscious worker.

— LEON TROTSKY

JOIN US IN FIGHTING FOR:

1. **Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions. Special officers' training camps, financed by the government but controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.**
2. **Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.**
3. **Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces and the war industries—Down with Jim Crowism everywhere.**
4. **Confiscation of all war profits. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers' control.**
5. **A rising scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living.**
6. **Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.**
7. **An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.**
8. **A Workers' and Farmers' Government.**
9. **The defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.**

Washington Parley

Behind closed and heavily-guarded doors at the Dumbarton Oaks estate in Washington, D. C., representatives of the imperialist governments of Britain and the United States were meeting in secret conclave this week with representatives of Stalin's government, and the Chinese government of Chiang Kai-shek, to advance their nefarious plans for dismembering Germany, Balkanizing Europe and strangling the coming European revolution.

These reactionary plans are not, of course, stated openly. Ostensibly, the conference is being held to draft plans for a "post-war world security organization."

But if the purposes are so innocent, why the close secrecy? Since the meaningless first-day show on Monday, when all the pretty speeches were made, the press has been barred from the sessions and newspapermen have been forbidden even to talk with the delegates.

This conspiratorial secrecy follows the pattern already set at Cairo and Teheran. At Cairo, American newspaper correspondents were forced away from the scene of the Roosevelt-Churchill conference by soldiers armed with bayonets. No correspondent was even permitted to visit Teheran when Roosevelt and Churchill met with Stalin. None of the agreements reached has ever been published.

There have already been sufficient indications of the nature of the discussion at Dumbarton Oaks. It has nothing to do with world peace or post-war security. What is actually afoot is a conspiracy against the European working-class—a plot to carve up Germany and all Europe, to establish the rule of monarchical military-police dictatorships of the Badoglio type all over the continent, to suppress and hold down the rebellious workers and subject them anew to the rotted system of capitalism.

That is why the parleys at Dumbarton Oaks are being conducted in such secrecy. The American working-class must not be permitted to know the dirty schemings that are going on behind those closed doors. "Honest diplomacy," wailed the liberal N. Y. *World-Telegram*, "needs no secrecy."

But imperialism by its very nature is predatory and crooked. Its diplomacy must, of necessity, be conducted in the dark. Millions of workers, can be kept fighting and dying only so long as they believe that they are fighting and dying for a better world. They will not knowingly fight for dirty imperialist aims and reactionary deals.

The American workers have a vital interest in the fate and future of their class brothers in Europe. If the Anglo-American imperialists and their accomplice in Moscow are allowed to perfect their plans and should succeed in strangling the coming socialist revolution in Europe, the workers in this country will lose a powerful ally. American capitalism, arrogant in its counter-revolutionary triumph, will be emboldened to attack still more vigorously the labor movement here. From every working-class organization the cry should go up.

Down with secret diplomacy!

Hands off the European revolution!

Labor Vote

AFL President William Green has announced a national campaign to get the approximately 7,000,000 AFL members to register and vote in the coming presidential election. Green stated in his circular letter of instructions to all AFL bodies that "if labor participates fully in the election, labor and the friends of labor can win."

But 7,000,000 or 70,000,000 labor votes will not "win for labor," if these votes are cast for the parties and candidates of Wall Street. All the workers will get by voting for either Roosevelt or Dewey is a continuation of Big Business domination, unemployment, wage-slashing and union-busting. That is the "post-war" program of both the Democrats and Republicans.

The workers will win a program really in their interests only by their own independent labor action through a fighting labor party free from any control by the owning-class. When the workers have such a party there will be no need for big ballyhoo campaigns to get out labor's vote. The reason why so many workers are "disgusted with politics" is because they correctly consider it a waste of time and effort to mark a ballot for the Tweedledum-Tweedledee political agents of Wall Street.

Pacific Policy

Roosevelt's recent trip to Hawaii and the Aleutians should serve to focus attention on the pre-eminent purpose of American imperialism in the present war—domination and exploitation of the vast regions of eastern Asia. In order to achieve this purpose, the American imperialists must first defeat their German rivals, weaken their British competitors to the point of subservience, reduce the smaller European imperialist states — France and Holland — to a state of impotent vassalage, and vanquish Japan.

In this sense the bloody military struggle in Europe is in the nature of a preparatory operation, the real goal of which lies on the opposite side of the world. The true orientation of American imperialist policy was disclosed by Leon Trotsky in 1938, before the war clouds burst over Europe, when he wrote:

"The world war which is approaching with irresistible force will review the Chinese problem together with all other problems of colonial domination. For it is in this that the real task of the second world war will consist: to divide the planet anew in accord with the new relationship of forces. The principal arena of struggle will, of course, not be that Lilliputian bath-tub, the Mediterranean, nor even the Atlantic Ocean, but the basin of the Pacific. The most important object of struggle will be China, embracing about one-fourth of the human race. The fate of the Soviet Union—the other big stake in the coming war—will also to a certain degree be decided in the Far East."

The productive forces of America have developed to a point at which an enormous volume of goods must find trade outlets abroad if the capitalist economy is not to fall victim to a ravishing crisis of such dimensions as to threaten its very existence.

With the continuance of the capitalist system of production for profit, the internal market can absorb but a fraction of the potential output of industry. Europe, having a modern industrial economy of its own, especially in Germany, can absorb, at best, only another fraction.

For trade and investment in great volume the barons of American finance-capital and industry look to the backward, undeveloped lands of Latin America, Asia and Africa. Latin America is already substantially under the heel of Wall Street. Yankee salesmen have penetrated Africa and the Middle East. The big stake, the lands of Asia with their teeming millions, has yet to be fought for and won.

The mammoth size of this stake can be appreciated when it is remembered that China has a population of 450 millions, India and Burma 400 millions, the Netherlands East Indies 67 millions, French Indo-China 25 millions. In these five Asiatic countries alone is concentrated almost half of the world's population. None of them possesses a modern industrial economy. The British, French and Dutch imperialists saw to that. They were interested in these lands solely as markets for their own exports and as suppliers of raw material and cheap coolie labor. The American imperialists, not one whit less rapacious, plan to continue this system of colonial robbery under the Stars and Stripes.

It is not at all certain that they are going to succeed. Just as the first imperialist war led to uprisings against imperialism in the subjugated lands of Asia, this war will give a fresh impetus to national liberation movements. In unison with the working-class of the West, the colonial peoples will rise to put an end to the cruel, piratical reign of capitalist imperialism with its wars and its never-ending hunger. The masses of India and China are already stirring. They will draw yet more millions into this great struggle.

WORKERS' FORUM

The columns are open to the opinions of the readers of The Militant. *Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers, but keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed. — Editor.*

Jackson Column

Editor:

A Negro friend of ours who reads George Schuyler's column in the **Pittsburgh Courier** regularly and has admired him in the past, confided that he thinks Charles Jackson's column is much better. I'd like once again to add my own praise of the Jackson column. I especially enjoyed his letter to a liberal.

V. K.
Buffalo

Negro Lay-Offs

Editor:

The beginning of mass lay-offs in the war industries is finding its expression in this area through the cutting out of graveyard shifts at shipyards and aircraft plants. Douglas Aircraft has dismissed thousands due to "engineering" changes.

The first real reflection of these lay-offs that I have seen has been in the increased number of workers standing in lines at employment offices. The length of these lines will increase in direct proportion with further lay-offs.

However, it is their composition rather than length which particularly impresses me now. The proportion of Negroes to white workers seeking industrial employment is far greater than among those workers employed in factories. Negroes were the last to leave the employment offices, if they left at all, and now with the beginning of lay-offs they are the first to reappear. This is exactly as **The Militant** predicted: Negroes are the last to be hired and first to be fired.

Before war production began, the vast majority of Negro women workers were employed as domestic servants, the lowest paid and most undesirable type of jobs open to women. The war gave many of them a chance to go into better jobs in industry, but again, the first to be fired has been the Negro women. As mass lay-offs continue and more war plants shut down the Negro woman will be forced back into being domestic slaves.

F. R.
Los Angeles

Editor:

I am indebted to you for the information contained in **The Militant** of July 29 in regard to the Powhattan mine disaster, namely that the mine company refused to observe the minimum safety measures prescribed by government inspectors.

For, I notice in the August 15 issue of the Congressional Record that Representative Lewis of Ohio in his Speech and Extension of Remarks, wherein he lauds the heroism of the miners and offers comfort to the bereaved, fails to place the blame upon the owners. A safety measure, obviously, of which he is not slow to avail himself to save his means of livelihood and his right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness!

Paradoxically, however, he offers through an editorial of Mr. McWilliam of St. Clairsville, Ohio, an attitude towards death which he says "we might all adopt" — the following: "And the survivors of those 66 can be thankful that their loved ones have only moved on a piece, leaving them the satisfaction of a job well done; that they performed their parts in life's struggle in this particular sphere with worthiness, that they left in valor; that they are now in repose from the most uncertain thing in life, which is life itself."

In view of this philosophy, I cannot see why either Mr. McWilliams or the Hon. Lewis should hesitate to take the place of the miners, along with the owners of the corporations, in order that they may acquire the same satisfactions and attain the same means of gaining repose from the uncertainty of life. Such a move on their part would prove their sincerity and might do more to prevent future disasters than the hopes and prayers of politicians, preachers and newspaper men.

In any case, one cannot help but admire the uniqueness of Mr. McWilliams' words of comfort: A degree more reassuring than that there is a heaven where there will be no coal to shovel.

Mrs. E. A. Ryckman
Pittsburgh

Company Convicted!

Editor:

On August 7, a long awaited day in Buffalo, the scales of justice ceased their wobbling and squeaked to a rusty stop, when City Judge Michael E. Zimmer convicted the Lehigh Portland Cement Company of endangering the life, safety, and comfort of a number of persons in South Buffalo.

For months there had been hundreds of complaints from South Buffalo residents, who protested that the houses, streets and sidewalks over a large area were covered with white dust that floated down out of the air. Medical opinions in the press informed the public that any kind of dust was injurious to human health, although some kinds were naturally worse than others.

Then, by some means or other (perhaps a pack of coughing and sneezing bloodhounds that the S. P. C. A. didn't know about) the dust was tracked to its source, the Lehigh Portland Cement Company. Thus the city authorities cracked the case and placed charges against the transgressing company; grim, solemn charges that the erring company "caused and permitted to escape into the open air, lime dust in such quantities as to cause or have a natural tendency to cause injury, detriment, or annoyance, and that the lime dust did endanger the life, safety and comfort of a number of persons in South Buffalo."

It was an open and shut case. The company never had a chance, and must have known it. In a tense and dramatic moment, the voice of Judge Michael E. Zimmer broke through the hush of the courtroom as he pronounced the sentence... a fine of ten dollars that must be paid within ten days.

Let us hope fervently that the Lehigh Portland Cement Company manages to scrape together enough money to pay the fine within the specified time. If they don't, heaven knows what swift and terrible retribution may befall them!

A Reader
Buffalo

INTERNATIONAL NOTES

GREECE

The Stalinists in Greece, emulating the treachery of their Italian confreres, have decided to participate in a "national unity" government to be headed by the social-democrat George Papandreou, present premier in the capitalist-monarchist Greek government-in-exile which has its seat in Cairo.

Many weeks ago the Stalinists participated in a conference in Lebanon of the various Greek political parties. Out of that conference came announcement of a Stalinist decision to join in a "coalition" government with the capitalist-monarchist scum which fled Greece when the Nazis took over.

But when the Stalinist delegates returned to their homeland they evidently encountered vigorous opposition among the guerrillas of the ELAS, a fighting organization of Greeks which is controlled by the Stalinist-dominated EAM (National Liberation Front). The Greek guerrillas made it abundantly clear that they are not fighting against the Nazi enslavers just in order to permit the reactionary exiled monarchy to return to Greece and rule once more in the interests of the capitalists and landlords.

Now, evidently, the Stalinists have hit on some slick formula which will permit them to carry out their original intention of joining hands with the Cairo government in a phony "coalition" of the Badoglio - Bonomi type in Italy. Their purpose is plain: to prevent the utter collapse of the shadow Cairo government which is hated by the Greek masses, to dress it up in "democratic" colors, to invest it with at least a semblance of popular support, and thus erect a barrier against the forces of the Greek revolution.

The Stalinist decision to enter the projected "coalition" was announced over the Cairo radio last week. It is in Cairo that a Greek court-martial, established by the very government which the Stalinists intend to join, is busy handing down death and long imprisonment sentences to Greek sailors and soldiers who took part in the recent munities against the monarchist government. Many of the victims are members or adherents of the Stalinist EAM. Thus the Stalinist traitors are joining hands with the executioners of their own militant followers.

GERMANY

According to a Canadian Army spokesman, the chief role of Hitler's Elite Guard (the SS troops) in France has been to "keep the regular infantry from running away." This, he said, had caused a breach between the Wehrmacht and the SS.

Front dispatches from France indicated very clearly that the six SS divisions in action there held open the "jaws" of the Allied Falaise-Argentan trap to enable units of the Wehrmacht to make their escape, but were ordered to retreat eastward as soon as they themselves stood a chance of being trapped by the Allied armies. As a result thousands of regular German troops were hopelessly caught and are now being steadily decimated.

Hitler's decision to sacrifice a large number of regular troops rather than risk the loss of his SS formation is further evidence of the shakiness of his regime. The SS troops are the only really reliable military prop of Nazism. Hitler cannot afford to have them seriously weakened. But in sacrificing the Wehrmacht to save the SS he has weakened the cohesion of the army as a whole and thereby weakened Nazi rule still further. Every such move the Nazis make represents another nail driven into their own coffin.

CHINA

President Roosevelt has dispatched Donald M. Nelson, chairman of the War Production Board, and Major General Patrick J. Hurley to Chungking to investigate China's economic situation with special reference to the country's urgent need for war materials.

It is no secret that Kuomintang China is on the verge of military and economic collapse and that Chiang Kai-shek's bloody regime is shakier than it has ever been. The Chungking correspondent of the N. Y. **Times** reported the symptoms in a dispatch on Aug. 15. He wrote that "the armies of China in the eighth year of war are weaker and more tired than most people supposed." Furthermore, "under the public facade criticism of the government and the leadership of the armies is blunter than it used to be. As the political situation deteriorates it becomes obvious that the Kuomintang needs more than ever the support of all the elements in China that are willing to fight the Japanese."

But the whole point is that Chiang Kai-shek is losing whatever support he ever had in China and must depend more and more on American imperialism. Roosevelt wants no revolution in China. He intends to prop up Chiang's vile regime so that China may be saved for future exploitation by Wall Street.

German Soldiers Shooting Officers

The growing rebellion in the German army is indicated by the frequency of reports of German soldiers shooting their own officers so that they may surrender and get out of the war.

One such incident is reported by a United Press correspondent with the American forces near Argentan, France. Three American soldiers in a jeep turned down a road in the course of mopping-up operations and encountered a company of German troops.

The German officer, related one of the American soldiers, ordered his men to open fire. "They opened fire, all right—on him but not on us. Then they surrendered—67 in one batch."

READ 'THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

Negro Seabees Victimized For Protesting Jim-Crow

As a result of their protest against continued racial discrimination and segregation, 19 Negro recruits in the Seabees were given dishonorable discharges in October 1943. The incident was revealed last week when the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People reported that twelve of the discharged men are continuing their fight against the Navy's action. Navy officials have refused to discuss the case or reveal the precise charges against the men.

Discrimination and segregation began first in boot camp, Camp Allen, Va., where the Negro recruits were segregated in living quarters and mess hall and were compelled to buy at a special "colored" section of the post exchange. At advanced training camp, Camp Bradford, whites were incorporated in the Negro unit, "but as soon as the whites with second and third class ratings came into the unit they were re-rated and given first class ratings, placing them over us," a discharged Negro states.

When the unit was shipped, an attempt was made to segregate the Negro Seabees to the after part of the ship's decks, the pretext being the desirability of separating men on the basis of their ratings. This was protested and halted.

When discrimination and segregation continued at their over-seas base, the Negroes once more protested. This led to an "off-the-record" conference called by their commanding officer, at which the Negroes aired their many grievances. At this meeting, it was proposed to set up an inter-racial committee to better the relations between whites and Negroes.

The very next day the participants in the meeting, called by their commanding officer, were summoned before the regimental commander, who told them they were charged with the formation of a "secret" organization in violation of Navy regulations. Two days later they were all given dishonorable discharge.

This is just another sample of the "Four Freedoms" as applied to Negroes in Roosevelt's military forces fighting a "war for democracy."

Anglo-American Oil Pact Protects Big Monopolies

The recently-signed Anglo-American international petroleum accord has been loudly hailed in the capitalist press as offering "equality of opportunity" to all nations to secure oil supplies through "free trade."

There is one clause in the agreement which reveals, however, that the pact is not intended to interfere in any way with the present "rights" and interests of the American and British world petroleum monopolies. This clause states:

". . .The Governments of each country and the nationals thereof shall respect all valid concession contracts and lawfully acquired rights and shall make no effort unilaterally to interfere directly or indirectly with such contracts or rights."

This means that the American and British firms, which control 80 percent of world oil production and resources and 100 percent of the world export trade, will have their present monopoly positions protected.

The agreement also declares that "all peaceable countries" shall have access "in international trade" to "adequate supplies" of petroleum at "fair prices."

These "adequate supplies" and "fair prices" will, of course, be determined by the big oil monopolies whose policy is to restrict production, fix prices by agreement, prevent competition, and grab the biggest profits possible.

False Production Report Used As Anti-Labor Smear

A new phase of the Big Business anti-labor offensive was opened up when Lieut. Gen. Brehon Somervell, head of the Army Service Forces and former industrial engineer allied with Wall Street war contractors spread a scare-head report of dire shortages in 320 categories of military supplies—due, he indicated, either to labor scarcity or a slow-down on the part of the workers.

This was the signal for a new forced labor directive by Director of War Mobilization Byrnes, Roosevelt's "Assistant President," which would enable the government to limit employment in so-called non-essential, or consumers goods, industries, force workers to take insecure or lower paid jobs in war plants or prevent workers from leaving jobs in war plants for more secure positions.

At the same time, a smear campaign has been launched through the corporation press, notably the N. Y. Times and the United Press against the rubber, automobile and aircraft workers, charging them with "slow-down" practices. This was the basis for government "investigations" aimed at driving the workers to speed-up further their already record-breaking output.

Somervell's report was subsequently revealed to be "doctored". Two officials of the War Production Board, who had prepared the original report on the current level of production and supplies, resigned in protest because the real facts had been deleted and suppressed in order to make the report "more pessimistic." Production, the full report disclosed, is ahead of schedule in most categories.

The object of the Somervell statement and the subsequent government moves is to create a "surplus army" of unemployed workers to drive down wage levels and to provide a basis for wage slashes by raising piece work quotas. Big Business also wants to prevent smaller firms from entering upon civilian production while the giant monopolies are still engaged in war production. Hence, the phony clamor about serious production shortages of military supplies.

Now, a War Manpower Commission report on Army tire shortages, allegedly due to a "slow-down" of Akron rubber workers admits the "smear" nature of the press fanfare. The WMC states that: "Publicity to date has over-emphasized one or two factors, such as workers' limits on productivity, as the reason for failure to meet production schedules, and has not presented the true picture." The true picture, it now appears, is that there has been bad planning on the part of responsible Army agencies.